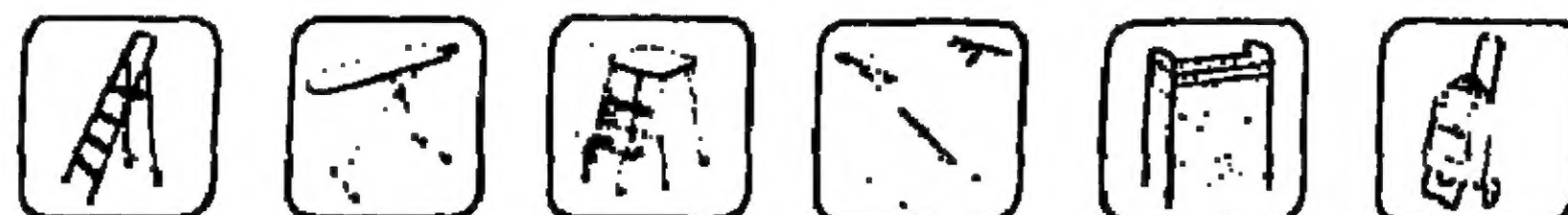


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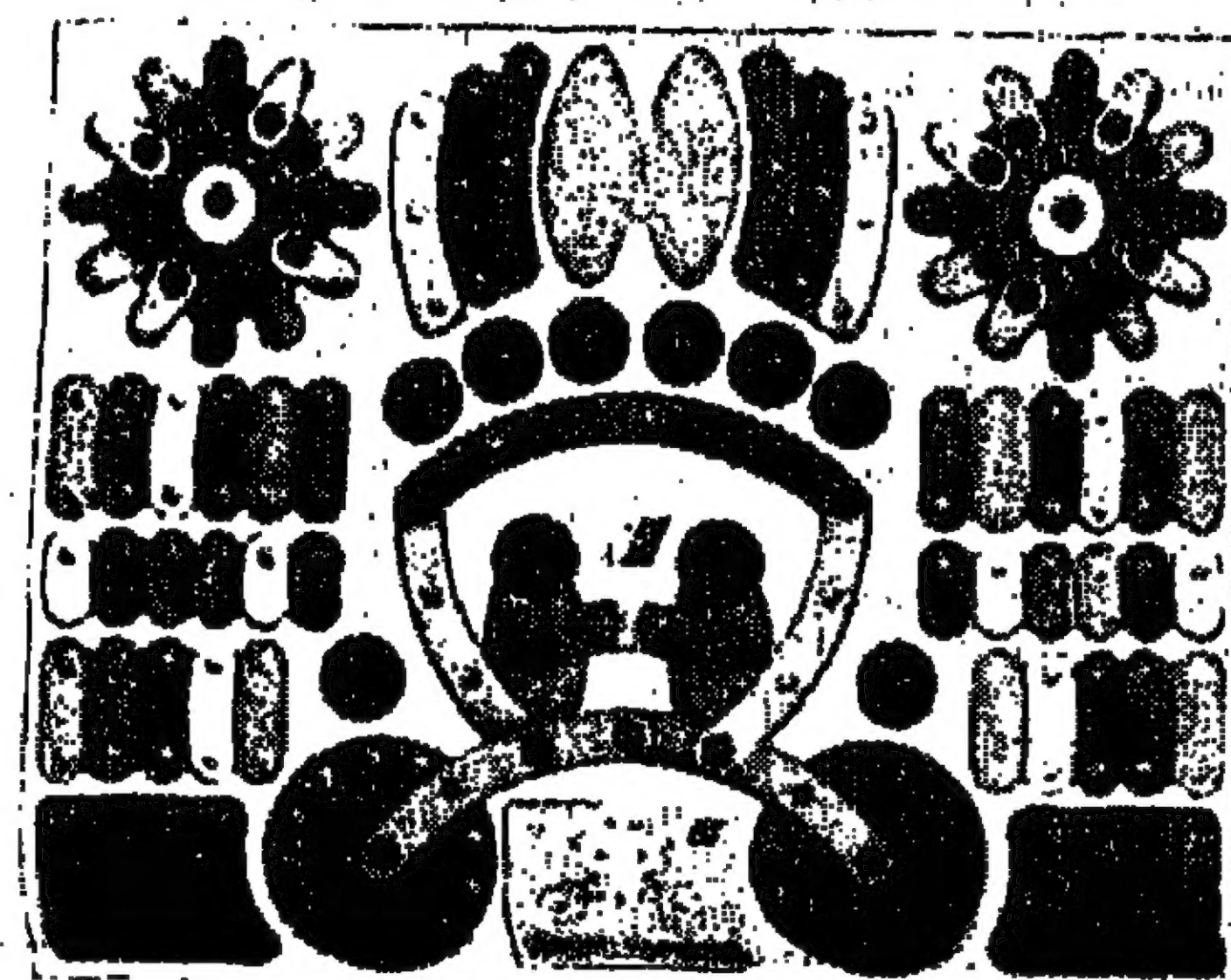
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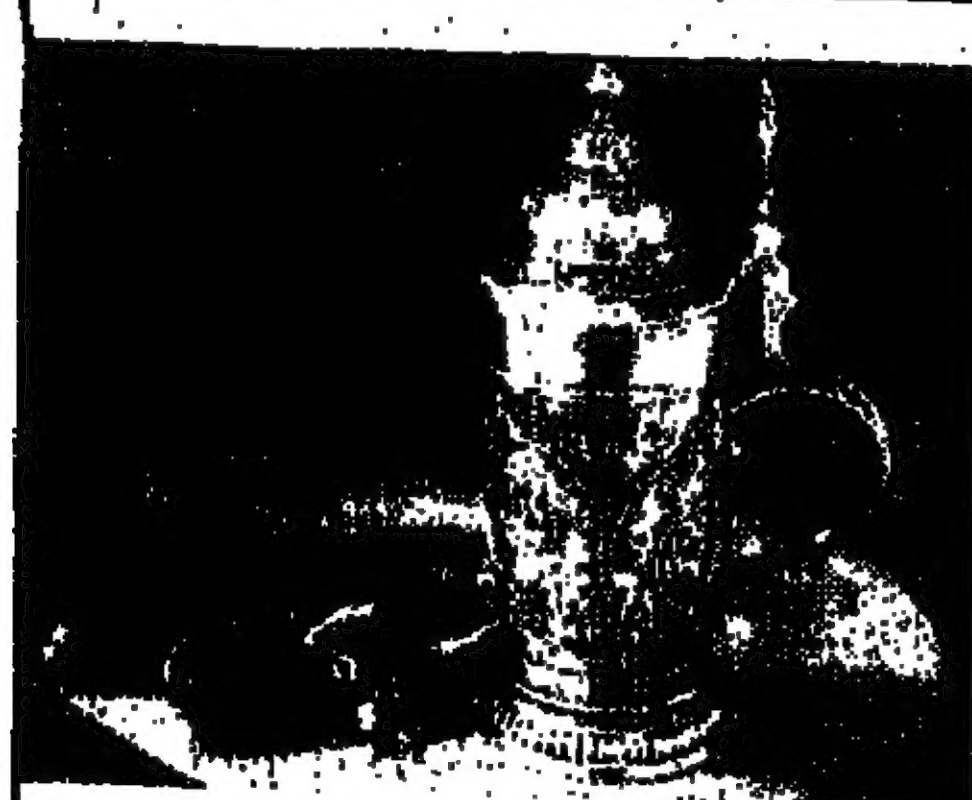
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The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 6 August 1978
Seventeenth Year - No. 851 - By air

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EEC unites for rap to Soviets

The European Community is more than the mere association of shopkeepers it is frequently accused of being, although its three foundations, the Iron and Steel Community, Euratom and, of course, the EEC, are naturally economic in nature.

But a fourth component not envisaged in the 1957 Treaty of Rome is steadily gaining importance. It goes by the not exactly breathtaking designation "political cooperation."

This concept is not just a plaything of the Nine, as recently shown yet again by EEC condemnation of the sentences passed on Soviet civil rights activists.

The Common Market was strongly opposed to the trials of Soviet dissidents and said so. It accused Moscow of staging trials that were a travesty of justice, in contravention of the Helsinki declaration and in a spirit irreconcilable with détente.

This joint declaration, which was nothing if not to the point, is noteworthy against the lamentable background of disunity among the Nine.

It owes its importance to the fact that the Nine have for once lodged their protest as a group. Individual protests, no matter how critical, would never have merited such attention.

The Nine's outrage at the persecution

by Soviet authorities of citizens merely trying to exercise legitimate rights will definitely not have gone unnoticed in the Kremlin - although the Soviet media only replied to the US reaction.

The EEC's prestige in other countries is high, although public opinion in the Nine is unaware of this, usually associating the Common Market with disputes about the milk glut and the butter mountain.

The Nine had every reason for its protest. One of the signatories of the Helsinki declaration was Italian Premier Aldo Moro, then chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers and since assassinated by left-wing terrorists.

So the Nine are entitled to and must regard themselves as custodians of the human rights and basic freedoms embodied in the Helsinki declaration.

In consultations between the EEC and Comecon last May the Soviet Union itself referred to the spirit of Helsinki, although with an entirely different objective. In the final communiqué of the talks between the two communities the Soviet Union complained that relations were not in keeping with the provisions of the CSCE declaration.

Moscow, however, was referring to the call for more economic cooperation, preferring to turn a blind eye to human rights. But a distinction ought not to be made.

The EEC's scathing reaction to the trials of Soviet dissidents is also sure to have made its mark in the Kremlin because Russia is for economic reasons anxious to maintain untroubled relations with the Common Market.

Despite computers and enormous grain purchases from the United States, trade between Comecon and the USA has stabilised at around two per cent of their respective foreign trade.

Trade with the EEC, on the other hand, amounts to about 10 per cent of imports and exports.

Lastly, Moscow cannot accuse the

Nine of lodging their protest solely on grounds of one-sided anti-Communism. At the UN the Nine have called on all nations to abide by human rights. They have, for instance, drawn up a code of behaviour for European companies in South Africa to counter-act racial discrimination there. They have even called on the 53 ACP countries, the Common Market's Third World partners in the Lomé convention, to accept a human rights clause, a British move which could well be boomeranging. Members of Britain's Afro-Asian community could lodge protests on the strength of this commitment.

Klaus Bohndorf
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger,
28 July 1978)



Presidential swing

Left arm straight, eyes on the ball: President Walter Scheel is all concentration as he prepares to swing at a practice ball before playing a round with an international group of golfers to launch the German Open in Cologne. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Lomé Convention talks strike bright note

News from Brussels is not always bad. Now and again the cumbersome and not unduly popular European Community comes up with a heartening news item.

The Nine's resolve to conclude a second five-year agreement with the 53 African, Caribbean and Pacific signatories of the Lomé convention is one such story.

The first agreement, signed in the Togolese capital in February 1975, turned out to be a winner for both sides.

On 24 July Hans-Dietrich Genscher, as chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers, opened negotiations on a second agreement in Brussels.

The Common Market, so often derided as dyed-in-the-wool capitalist, must have felt deeply satisfied as Herr Genscher began the talks.

Despite the domestic recession, he said, the EEC was playing an active part in offsetting the international economic imbalance.

The Nine have not only set a good example; the examples is one of the few from which to choose.

The Soviet Union and other East bloc states may feel that arms supplies constitute development aid, but the EEC is trying to alleviate the heart-rending hardship that is the lot of the poorest countries.

In these countries ideology and machine guns are of no use. They have only just emerged from colonial rule and what they need is economic assistance to lay the groundwork for national prosperity.

This is not to say that the ACP countries can afford to be politically hard of hearing. They must heed the EEC's call and observe human rights.

In the long run the Common Market cannot afford to negotiate with dictators who tolerate torture and corruption; but are sometimes prepared to show goodwill for a price.

Herr Genscher may have said that the

Continued on page 5

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has assured UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and his special envoy on Namibia, Martti Ahtisaari of Finland, of every assistance in implementing the UN resolutions on Namibian independence. However for constitutional reasons Bonn is barred from seconding Bundeswehr units for service with a United Nations peacekeeping force.

Now that the UN Security Council has endorsed the Namibia plan drawn up by its Western members, the West can pride itself on having won another round in the diplomatic dispute over Namibia.

Once the frontline African countries had approved of the Western plan and

Namibia plan is round for West

urged Swapo to accept it, a Soviet veto in the UN Security Council was no longer to be expected.

The Soviet Union neatly extricated itself from involvement with the plan by abstaining, so another hurdle has been cleared on the long and stony road to independence for the former German colony of South-West Africa.

Acceptance of the plan means prepa-

rations for free elections can now go ahead, which leaves Dr. Waldheim's special envoy, Martti Ahtisaari, with the daunting task of ending fighting and holding back both the Swapo guerrillas and the South African defence forces.

He must persuade both to hold their fire and withdraw, since free elections presuppose that neither side puts pressure on the electorate.

But the future of Walvis Bay, the South African enclave, remains uncertain. Western diplomats at the UN have skillfully administered the bitter pill to Pretoria without providing the South African government with a pretext for abandoning the entire agreement.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 July 1978)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Foreign Ministry on trail of clear African policy

What is Bonn's policy on Africa, more and more people are wondering, prompted by the prospect of imminent racial conflict in Southern Africa and by Soviet advances in various parts of the continent?

One of these days, they feel, German security and economic interests may be at stake.

The Bonn Foreign Office has long kept a close watch on Africa. Foreign Minister Genscher has taken a special interest in Africa issues, repeatedly urging his planning staff to devote more thought to the continent.

It is wrong then to say that African developments have taken the Foreign Office by surprise. A report on prospects in Africa was submitted to the Minister in autumn last year, many of its recommendations have long been approved and are part of the briefs of Foreign Office officials who deal with Africa.

Africa-watchers at the Foreign Office think interest in Western policy on Africa, more particularly Bonn's, will grow rapidly.

The Foreign Office welcomes the trend, feeling that greater interest will facilitate a more active African policy, but experts also feel that fighting in Africa will be increasingly reflected in domestic policy.

There have already been several noisy clashes, with GSA leader Franz Josef Strauss featuring prominently for the Opposition.

The Foreign Office view is that maximum agreement among "all socially relevant groups" is a necessity, but this is a tall order, given that events in Southern Africa in particular, frequently polarise outside views.

Young people readily oppose vestiges of colonialism and racial discrimination, while older people are upset by the uncertain fate of the whites in South Africa.

Lastly, business interests are increasingly concerned with West Germany's dependence on imported raw materials.

Bonn's options in Africa are seen as strictly limited at the Foreign Office. There can be no question of either a substantial increase in development aid to Africa or the redirection there of all aid.

The Foreign Office is even more adamant that Bonn cannot afford even to consider a security role in Africa.

It is obvious that Bonn's policy on Africa must, wherever possible, be coordinated with its allies - as it now is.

Bonn cannot risk going it alone now that there is an increasing groundswell of anti-Bonn sentiment in Africa, and it is no longer enough to argue that Germany has not been a colonial power since 1918.

Black Africa has an equally mistrustful view of the close trade ties between Bonn and Pretoria.

Joint European moves in Africa have, on the other hand, proved useful recently. Europe is often viewed in Africa as the lesser evil compared with superpowers Russia and America.

Common Market condemnation of power zones in Africa has impressed Af-

Franfurter Allgemeine

rican countries. From time to time, however, the Nine will have to coordinate their approach with the United States.

When there is no agreement and views are divided within the European Community, Bonn ought, or so the Foreign Office feels, be prepared to join a single country or a minority in the EEC.

That single country is, of course, France, which is at present playing an extremely active role in Africa.

Except in individual instances, the Foreign Office sees no chance of Bonn playing a lone hand.

It does, however, feel that development aid should continue to be given bilaterally where possible, naturally in close conjunction with friends and allies.

Greater emphasis should be put on the humanitarian and peace-keeping aspects of development aid, but no-one should have aid thrust upon them.

Bonn should also be prepared to refuse aid requests on occasion - when, for instance, the Federal Republic is berated for alleged close military and nuclear cooperation with South Africa.

In the long run excuses made in private by many aid recipients must be unacceptable - the explanations that criticism of Bonn is an obligatory exercise not to be taken seriously.

The Foreign Office's main objective is to enable African countries to gain, maintain and consolidate their independence. It follows that Bonn favours peaceful development and negotiated settlements and opposes the use of force.

It is similarly opposed to the export to Africa of East-West disputes and the creation of power zones and spheres of influence in a continent whose destiny is so closely linked to that of Europe to the north.

Priorities must go to the pursuit of justified German interests, firstly the maintenance of trade ties and the safeguarding of commodity supplies.

It was already apparent during the compilation of the Foreign Office policy abstract on Africa that conflict in Southern Africa would soon be increasing. Particular attention was paid to this area, especially as many people of German extraction live in Southern Africa.

In South-West Africa, or Namibia, to use the UN designation, there are about 18,000 people of German extraction, including 6,500 who retain German nationality. In South Africa there are about 60,000 Germans, and in Rhodesia 1,700 or so.

Whether they will continue to live there in peace depends, the Foreign Office feels, on unavoidable changes being undertaken as fast as possible, but also in as orderly and painless a way as possible.

Bonn, the argument runs, ought not to commit itself to specific constitutional changes in, say, South Africa. But is must be seen to endorse the gradual

abolition of apartheid and the gradual participation and eventual equal rights for the black majority in the social, economic and, finally, political sectors. The final objective must be equal rights for all in South Africa: democratic rule by the majority with special provisions to safeguard minority rights. Knowing what a dim view white South Africans take of the one-man, one-vote slogan the Foreign Office does not favour unqualified backing of this demand.

South Africa's constitutional future is felt to be a matter for South Africans. Yet Bonn feels it still has a part to play in promoting the abolition of racial discrimination.

It can, for instance, declare its readiness to show political goodwill in return for moves by the South African government in the direction of equal rights for blacks.

The moves Bonn has in mind are readily outlined: the release of political detainees, for instance, amendments to the pass laws and influx control regulations, abolition of job reservation, a new deal on migrant labour and changes in the law on land distribution and separate housing areas.

Enforced repatriation of blacks from urban to rural areas ought to be stopped, and there should be educational reforms for blacks and coloureds, plus integration in sport and much more.

Germany, Bonn argues, is under a historical obligation to oppose racial discrimination of any kind and regardless of short-term disadvantages.

The disadvantages would presumably be difficulties South Africa might make as a supplier of "sensitive" raw materials. Bonn is particularly dependent on South African supplies of chromium, manganese, uranium oxide and platinum.

Until recently South Africa was Bonn's major trading partner in Africa, but has now been displaced by Nigeria, an oil exporter.

German capital invested in South Africa is estimated at roughly DM3,500m. Independence on supplies of raw materials from South Africa can be no more than a long-term target.

So a trade embargo on South Africa would hit Bonn hard. The right way, to put on economic pressure, the Foreign Office report says, is to discourage investors.

German firms with subsidiaries in South Africa are encouraged to abide by the code of behaviour drawn up by the EEC.

Since there is also talk in Bonn of stricter enforcement of the arms embargo, there would appear to have been some loopholes in the past.

By the same token Bonn is opposed to supplying arms to black liberation movements, as they are officially called in the Federal Republic.

Bonn is keen to confer with then, but rejects their claim to the sole right to represent those on whose behalf they claim to speak.



■ SUMMIT

What the Bonn talks achieved: two experts fight it out

Conferences such as the Bonn summit are never a failure: they are invariably hailed as a stunning success. They have to be it - a rule of the game in Western democracy. But what repercussions will the summit really have on the international economic crisis?

Professor

Norbert Walter:

One's first general comment must surely be that the Bonn summit went very much according to expectations. All seven heads of government solemnly undertook to combat unemployment, inflation, energy wastage and international trade barriers.

They not only endorsed free trade but also made other declarations of intent which bore the hallmark of free-market concepts, such as the planned increase in US domestic oil prices to world market levels by 1980.

So the Bonn summit gives a radical liberal economist little cause for complaining of a wrong approach. This is more than can be said of the Bremen EEC summit that preceded it.

At Bremen an age-old European idea was resurrected: the exchange-rate union. It is hardly surprising, given the recent drastic exchange-rate fluctuations, that it has gained fresh support.

The surprise was that Bonn was not the midwife but the begetter of the new plan, and the Bundesbank its mother.

The mother had very little say over its conception, so, after the bad time she had with her last pregnancy, the Werner Plan, she will be none too keen on having the child.

Economists are hoping the Bundesbank will make sure that Europe is spared this particular creation.

Another feature of the Bonn summit was that unexpectedly little or nothing was said on a number of issues. The Bremen Eurocurrency plans, for instance, received a chilly reception.

America and Japan seem to have been as puzzled as economists in this country over how the European monetary system is to work and play its part in curbing dollar speculation.

Development aid was another blank space on the summit map. Given the industrialised countries' lament about shortfall in demand and saturation of requirements, a bold venture in capital export and increased transfer of resources to the developing countries might have been expected.

Were differences of opinion, the handicap or was there simply not enough time to deal with the issue? Either way, the industrialised countries ought, individually or collectively, to make amends promptly. Bonn, Tokyo and Washington please note.

Declarations of intent at the summit dealt at length with unemployment and inflation. The prevalent economic outlook, as indicated by the terminology though not by the measures proposed (which, regrettably, were not specified in detail), is typically Keynesian.

In other words, it takes the short-term view and is thus aimed solely at a temporary increase in demand.

This is amazing, given that Bonn and

other have learnt from many experiments with this particular therapy that it is not very successful. Long-term concepts and measures to underpin price mechanisms effectively are better suited to haul the economy out of the quagmire.

What is more, the economically stabiliser countries at Bonn promised to stimulate demand by precisely quantified measures, whereas undertakings to combat inflation in the other countries were extremely vague.

This lack of symmetry gives rise to anxiety, lest the worldwide deceleration of inflation rates go by the board in the wake of the Bonn summit.

What, then, does the summit mean for Bonn? One repercussion is definite: the Chancellor and his party can no longer postpone tax cuts and higher expenditure until 1980. It will have to be 1979.

Now that Bonn has committed itself to an additional demand stimulus of up to one per cent of GNP, dog-fighting about specific measures is sure to continue.

In an interview after President Carter's departure, Chancellor Schmidt said that he and the Cabinet were pledged to secrecy on the details of the stimulus envisaged.

But this makes little difference. Party-political tactics will keep Bonn busy until the package is finally passed by the Bundestag in September.

It will be said to be impossible to implement by 1979 and lacking in balance, but the package itself will sound more effective than its detractors.

What shape ought it best to take? It would probably be better to invest the projected DM13,000m in a chosen few sectors rather than to waste time and money on a multitude of measures.

Were some consideration to be given to all tax cut demands, from capital investment and payroll tax to income tax and surtax, the net outcome would be little more than extra administrative expenditure.

The DM13,000m ought not to be used in watering-can fashion to sprinkle benefits on every conceivable sector of society. The foremost concern must be to get the economy moving.

And demand must not be stimulated merely in the short term; attitudes and behaviour must change in the longer term.

The entire amount could well be invested in a thorough reform of income tax and surtax from 1 January 1979. To argue that time is too short is both out of date and wrong.

Tax reform proposals have been under consideration for years, and not only at the Finance Ministry. A number of fully-fledged proposals have already been published. All that is needed is a political decision.

A simultaneous increase in value-added tax to offset some of this additional expenditure is a less satisfactory

state's duty to regulate the economy. Professor Hinkel is a "left-winger" and Professor Walter a "right-winger", and they differ both in their views of the situation and on what remedial action it requires.

Professor

Rudolf Hinkel:

idea. For one, it is virtually impossible to implement from 1 January 1979.

What is more, it would boost inflation, which can be expected to increase in any case. This would impair the prospects of a peaceful round of wage talks and a steady improvement in economic well-being.

Proposals aimed at stepping up government investment as a means of stimulating growth may, of course, be anathema to ideological grounds.

But an even more telling argument is that planning and construction capacities are already hopelessly overburdened in the immediate future. Extra contracts for the building industry would accomplish little more than an increase in prices.

So let us use the DM13,000m to reform income tax and surtax and ensure that there is more incentive for the individual, that next year's wage talks take place in a more relaxed atmosphere and that we enter the 80s with fewer than a million unemployed. Norbert Walter

The success of the Bonn economic summit cannot be assessed in terms of the promises and prophecies made by the seven summiteers in strict accordance with their political script.

The quality and durability of their international economic package can only be judged on the strength of day-to-day economic policy routine.

This is the context in which the clash of national and international economic interests will be hammered out:

— Will the United States be able to override industrial interests and implement oil price increases by 1980 and the proposed energy-saving programme by 1985?

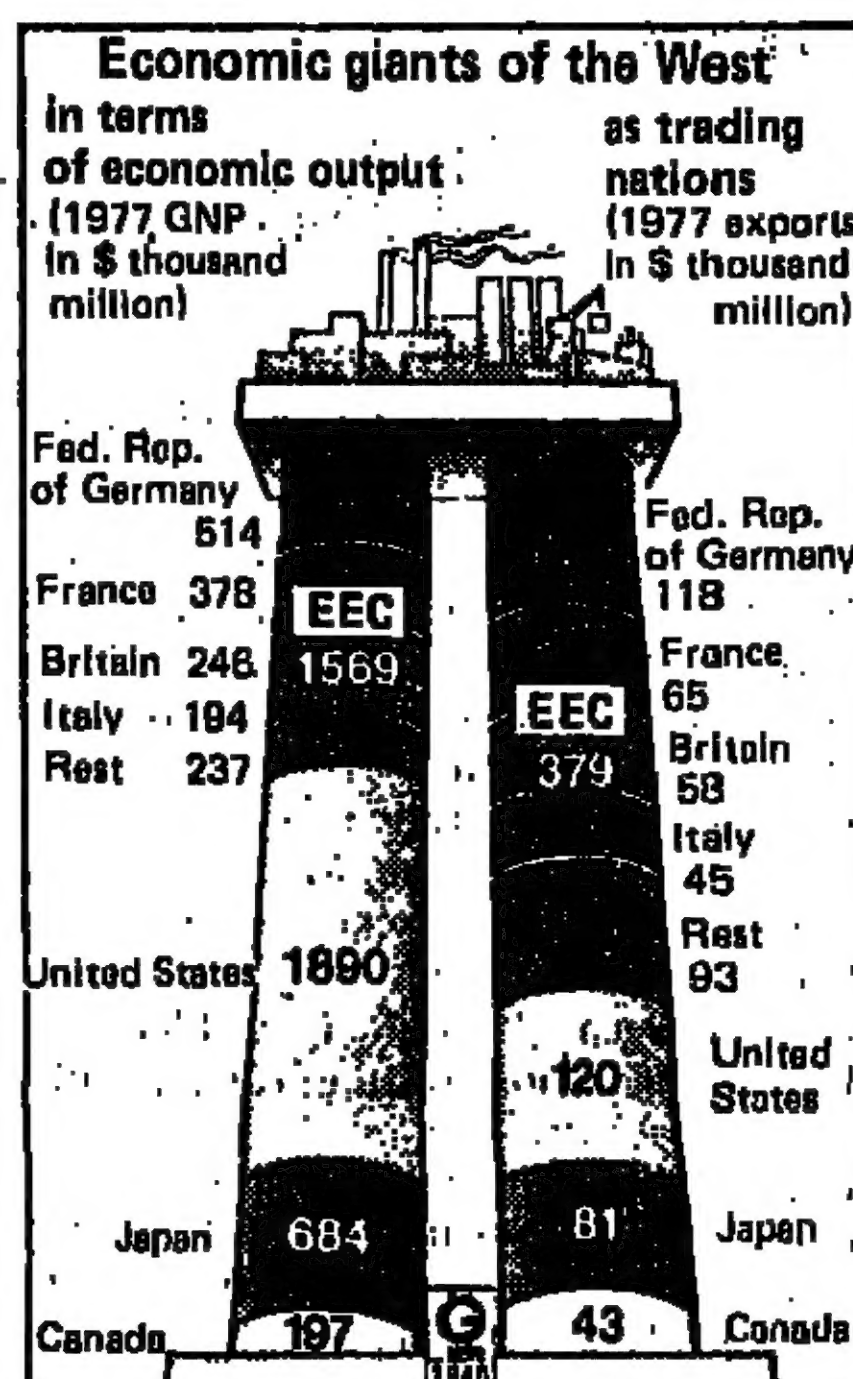
— Will Britain and Italy manage the consequences of joining the European Monetary Fund at the Bremen summit? Will they, in other words, succeed in implementing anti-inflationary policies, including curbs on wages and welfare? Or will resistance by labour prove too powerful?

— Will France be able to continue towards a denationalised free-market economy of a nonliberal kind?

— Will it be possible to impose political curbs on Japan's profitable export industry?

— Which economic interests will prevail in the Federal Republic of Germany when it comes to sharing out the DM13,000m economic-booster package? Will the watering-can sprinkle benefits everywhere, but only a few drops on the parched soil of unemployment? Or will Bonn opt for a programme of active and lasting full-employment policies?

These questions are enough to indicate that industrial and trade union



interests will have an important word to say on the implementation of Bonn's booster package.

Two intentions proclaimed by the Bonn summiteers deserve defending in the face of neo-liberal and unduly market-orientated criticism, while a critical view must be taken of the ways in which they are to be put into practice.

In view of growing international ties, there has to be some degree of international economic policy coordination. Protectionism cannot be maintained in the long term because of its repercussions on the domestic economy.

If, for instance, Bonn were to resort to protectionism to stem the tide of US imports, it would be depriving itself of export opportunities because US domestic growth would be reduced accordingly.

The agreements on dismantling trade barriers are nonetheless the weakest link in the economic package approved at Bonn, but not because Western leaders would not be happy to cooperate on this issue.

Powerful business interests are the stumbling block. They already enjoy safeguards provided by individual governments and tend to advocate protectionism when threatened by international competition.

The seven summiteers were united in another economic objective: the coordination of Western economic policies along Keynesian lines. All seven undertook to pursue anti-cyclical fiscal and monetary policies.

This economic policy tour de force at an international level cannot fail to prompt vociferous criticism. Bonn's experiences with government-financed incentives (and not only Bonn's) have been more than discouraging.

This is another instance of economic policymakers basing their arguments on false premises, only this time at an international level.

If government expenditure and revenue policies are to have any planned effect on economic fluctuations, there must be a functioning competitive system, and this is where problems arise in developed free-market economies.

A systematic assessment of whether the Keynesianism of the West as envisaged at Bonn is any good would need to take into account, item for item, the experience gained, say, in the Federal Republic.

Here two substantial criticisms must be voiced:

1. Policy decisions by a handful of multinational companies can make short shrift of economic policy decisions at the international level.

Continued on page 3

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ISSUES

The legacy of 20 July: coming to terms with heroism and guilt

Norbert Blum, head of the Christian Democrats' trade union wing, has been criticised for a comment on the Filbinger affair in *Der Spiegel*, the Hamburg news magazine: "Whether someone served Hitler in a concentration camp or at the front is, in my opinion, merely a matter of degree. The camps existed for only as long as the front held." War widows and ex-servicemen felt insulted, but Blum, 43, had no intention of upsetting people. What he wanted was for the generations to jointly come to terms with the past, a point he spells out in this article written to mark the anniversary of the 20 July 1944 plot to assassinate Hitler and sue for peace.

Leipzig Social Democrat Carl Goerdeler and his fellow-conspirators of 20 July 1944 prepared a government programme before their unsuccessful assassination attempt on Hitler. It was to be one of "inner reconciliation," but it remained on paper — the declaration was never made, the attempt failed and the executioners quickly performed their task.

It read: "We hope we are all agreed that the only distinction to be made is that between crime and unscrupulousness on the one side and decency and honesty on the other. This is the basis on which we want to do all in our power to bring about an inner reconciliation of the nation."

A day such as 20 July could be a meeting-point for the generations in which they could exchange questions, experiences and answers openly and without rituals.

We do not want to judge our fathers by the standards of the heroes of 20 July and accuse them of lack of heroism. Heroism is not everyday behaviour, it is exceptional behaviour, and we are not under existential pressure to prove our courage.

On the other hand, not every question from the younger generation can be dismissed with the remark: "You were not there." Those who resort to taboo mechanisms are in effect denying history.

The act of resistance of 20 July is too important to be merely the occasion for admiration without consequences. The most significant legacy of 20 July is, in my opinion, the reminder that duty and obedience cannot be seen in isolation from the purposes they serve. There is no duty immune to guilt.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer wrote: "The safe path of duty seems to be a way out of the confusing labyrinth of possible decisions. Here the command is the surest thing, the commander and not the person carrying out the duty bears the responsibility. By confining oneself to duty, we never take the risk of an act on our own responsibility, and it is only such acts which can strike at the heart of an overcome evil. The man of duty will end up doing his duty even by the devil."

Is the programme of 20 July a programme for the abandonment of all duty? This is not how I read Bonhoeffer. We have duties even in dictatorial systems.

History provides impressive examples of the misuse of ends as well as of the misuse of means. The means do not justify the ends, and the ends do not justify

the means. The Crusades were a noble ideal for those who started them, but they were misused by despicable money-makers.

Hitler's war was wrong, yet there were examples of soldierly altruism even in it: love of one's neighbour in the shape of selfless efforts on behalf of comrades and fairness towards the enemy.

These things happened, as did acts of appalling cruelty. But they do not absolve us from the need to ask what purposes the war served. If this question is answered in terms of "duty is duty" and "obedience is obedience," then we are destroying the ground on which we pay homage to the resistance fighters.

The aims of war were not in all cases the "Damascus" of resistance. The means with which these aims were pursued opened the eyes of many. Amid the stridency of Friesler's People's Court we hear the shy and almost inaudible voice of one of the accused: "It was all the murders."

The limits of duty are determined by the means used and the ends pursued. It is probably not possible to determine casuistically where the limits are. But the conscience of resistance showed that there is a duty to refuse to carry out one's duty.

Where does duty begin and where does it end? The clear-cut cases can easily be described. Here, duty is just another word for making life easy for oneself. It is more difficult in the marginal areas of conscience. Conscience resists legal codifications.

We look for orientation and security and often only find pseudo-certainty: "The fatherland — yes! Hitler — no!" But when the fatherland is connected with Hitler and concentration camps, resistance can be called for.

These questions may seem to us like

scholastic disputes on how many angels can dance on the head of a pin, yet the question is not as widely divorced from reality. How else could dissident movements against the laws of the fatherland appeal to human rights? Anatoly Shtsharsky and Alexander Ginsburg are fighting against their real fatherland.

The simple patterns for coming to terms with the past are usually too coarse to be any use in the attribution of guilt: "The SS was criminal, the Wehrmacht was all right." These distinctions are probably useful as everyday lies, particularly for those who found themselves in the more favourable category. When individuals are involved in critical situations, general judgments do not help to untangle the web of personal responsibility.

Why for example should an SS man under duress in all cases and in all circumstances be more guilty than a soldier? Moral distance disappears under duress. The good deed is worth less and the bad deed does not seem so bad. Totalitarian systems of compulsion level out moral standards.

Obviously no-one in a concentration camp could have failed to realise that wrong was being done. You cannot ignore a gas oven. On the front, many a soldier may not have realised what system he was serving. Apart from free will, the realisation that wrong is being done is an important pre-condition of the capacity for guilt.

From the perspective of the concentration camp prisoner, every day the front lasted increased the risk that he would not survive. If the surrender had come four weeks later, fewer people would have been alive. If it had been four weeks earlier, more would have survived. There was a definite connection

between the front and the concentration camps.

Guilt cannot be attributed en masse and conscience cannot be collectivised. Yet this realisation does not mean a collective excuse. Every individual plays his part in the fate of the whole community. Fabian von Schlabrendorff, who was far from subscribing to the collective guilt theory, wrote in his account of July 20 1944 that "technical circumstances, wrong planning and lack of strike power were the reasons for the failure."

But when he adds it all up he comes to another conclusion: "The real reason was that the time was not ripe. The mass of the German people was not behind Hitler. But they were not against him. They were sitting on the fence. They regarded themselves not as the subject but as the object of what was happening. They believed in the letter of their oath and the duty of absolute obedience."

And so 20 July reminds us of heroes but also of the responsibility of the nameless masses. This responsibility cannot be assigned individually but it is the sum of individual responsibilities.

The ground we are covering is mined with emotions. Misunderstandings are inevitable, a description is taken as an accusation, examples are generalised.

We have not come to terms with our past. There is too little mourning and too much repression. When the study of this recent history is condemned as following one's own nest, the young generation has no choice but to embrace ideological dogmas.

Perhaps the process of coming to terms with the past would be easier if there were more humility and compassion in our speeches. Perhaps this would even help get rid of the ancient "subject" mentality. In monarchies the people had to be humble so that the king could be compassionate. Why should not the rulers (even those of yesterday) show more humility so that the people can be more compassionate?

Norbert Blum
(Die Zeit, 21 July 1978)

Filbinger affair reopens the wounds of war

Many Germans believed we had left the dark phase of our history so far behind us that we had escaped from it. But now it has caught up with us again: the dusty files on Hans Filbinger have ensured that the post-war dialogue on guilt, innocence and involvement has had to be resumed.

It is all there — the shrill, self-righteous tones of those with a belated need to prove their anti-Nazism, the verbal heroism of those who did not have the courage to resist at the time and now cover this up by sound and fury. Then we hear the voices of those who say that a line has got to be drawn under the past somewhere.

Those who believe this line cannot be drawn, because the sufferings of millions are still painfully present — parents who lost their sons, sisters who lost their brothers — ought not to see everything in black and white but should be aware of the intervening shades of grey. I cannot find any tones of grey for the murderers at their desks, for the executioners, for the inventors and staff of the gas chambers. Who could possibly find excuses for them?

Coming to terms with a past which overwhelmed us is difficult, indeed apparently impossible, when it comes to drawing the line between Nazis, non-Nazis, anti-Nazis, the innocent and the guilty, the leaders and the misled.

It is perhaps easiest in the case of the martyrs of 20 July 1944 and their heroic disobedience.

The men and women who saw resistance as their duty, carried out that duty and died as a result were the best. Thirty-four years after their deed its glory remains undiminished.

Matters become complicated and confusing when we read Norbert Blum's article in *Der Spiegel* in which he names frontline soldiers and concentration camp personnel in the same breath and says there was only a difference of degree between them.

The Nazi war was the greatest predatory act of history, an attack in which 50 million people died. We know the objection to this: Versailles, unemployment, the humiliations in the name of Germany.

It is often honestly and naively argued

that the soldiers of the Wehrmacht were simply doing their duty. The deserter who recognised the criminality of this war and did not want to kill his enemies, whom he considered to be the victims of aggression, was also doing his duty — only his interpretation of duty was different.

Even a man who, as a German patriot, spied on behalf of the enemy, could have been acting according to the dictates of his conscience. How are we to find a way out of all these contradictions?

The young frontline soldier who obeyed the orders of those who told him he was honourably and gloriously defending his fatherland was certainly not one of the guilty but neither was he the victim of our past. We should have respect and sympathy for his heroism but we should not attempt to glorify it.

Those who knew perfectly well what was happening and yet did not have the courage to resist, those who raised the right hand in the Nazi salute out of fear who only shot to protect their own lives and stood to attention with reluctance so as not to provoke these in power should not now be condemned. Heroic resistance is not a duty that can be required of us all.

When it was all over and when every

Continued on page 6

EXTREMISM

Violence increase in 1977

Right- and left-wing extremist groups in the Federal Republic of Germany are increasingly prepared to use violence to achieve their ends although the democratic system is not yet seriously threatened, says Bonn Minister of the Interior Gerhart Baum in the 1977 report of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

The report of Office for the Protection of the Constitution for 1977, based on information supplied by the federal government and Länder offices, comes to the following conclusions on extremism in the Federal Republic: The German National Democratic Party (NPD) remains the largest extreme right-wing organisation, although its membership dropped last year by 700 to about 9000. It has lost two-thirds of its membership since 1969. There were another 17 neo-Nazi groups but none with a membership of more than 250.

At the end of 1977 there were 488 members of extreme right-wing organisations working in the public service. The figure for 1976 was 533. Of the 448, 223 were working for the central government, 146 for the Länder, 63 for local councils and the remaining 16 for public corporations and institutions.

Left-wing extremism: The German Communist Party (DKP) remains the largest group among the left-wing extremists. At the end of 1977 it had about 42,000 members (1976 between 40,000 and 42,000). Because of its comparatively low membership and its small reservoir of voters, the DKP made considerable efforts to form alliances with non-communist groups. The SPD and the trade unions were favoured targets here, but the DKP could not make much headway with the unions.

Forty-five out of 75 student representative bodies at universities were dominated by members of left-wing groups. The New Left gained new supporters last year. Among non-Moscow-oriented communist groups, the West German Communist Association (KBW) tightened up its organisation even further. In April 1977 the KBW moved into its new party headquarters in a six-storey building, bought for DM 2.7 million raised from donations by members and sympathisers.

The activities of the New Left against the Bundeswehr were stepped up last year. Most of them were KBW-inspired. The KBW relies on the Soldiers' and Reservists' Committees which, after a national congress, have now begun to

give their members para-military training. New Left groups have, as in the case of the occupation of the Grohnde nuclear power station site, used degrees of violence below the threshold of "armed struggle" in pursuit of their political aims.

At the end of 1977 there were 2,281 left-wing extremists known by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution to be working in the public service. The figure for 1976 was 1,944. Of the 2,281, 288 worked for the central government, 1,550 for the Länder, 398 for the local councils and 45 for public corporations and institutions.

Terrorism: The Red Army Faction (RAF) remains one of the hard-core terrorist groups. There are also a number of revolutionary cells which in general have little connection with one another. The international network of terrorist organisations increased in strength last year.

Counter-espionage: The aims of the Eastern intelligence services, where East Berlin is the centre of activity, were mainly in the sphere of political espionage. These efforts were directed mainly against the government and government organisations and the democratic parties. As for economic espionage, the electronics and the electronic data processing industries were the focus of interest, as in previous years. There was special interest in devices for transmitting information.

Activities of foreigners constituting a risk to security: The vast majority of the four million foreigners living in this country respect the law. Nonetheless, the security authorities still recorded a number of serious acts of violence perpetrated by foreign political groups. The incidence of these acts fell compared to the previous year and reached the lowest level since 1970.

The activities of Maoist and social-revolutionary foreign groups constituted the gravest threat to security.

Palestinian, Iranian, Croatian and some Turkish groups showed an inclination to use violence. *Rüdiger Monac*

(Die Welt, 26 July 1978)

Man fined for Hitler salute

The Lüneburg Land Court has fined Edgar Geiss, 48, of Beckdorf, near Stade, DM9,600 for "using the salute of an organisation hostile to the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany" and for "denigrating the Federal Republic of Germany."

In February Geiss attended the funeral of Herbert Kappler, the former SS police chief in Rome, and gave the Hitler salute as a last tribute. The court said Geiss had denigrated the Federal Republic by handing out leaflets which spoke of "the weeds of corruption" in the country. *dpa*

(Die Welt, 25 July 1978)

Continued from page 4

German knew the appalling extent of the crimes committed, the main duty for those who had been deceived and disappointed was to rethink. Now the winners of the Iron Cross, the court martial judges, the block guardians and the Hitler Youth leaders knew that millions of Jews had been murdered in their name, that honourable men had been shot, that foreign nations had been crushed by German tanks.

Those who, after reflecting on all this, did not at least question the concept of duty they had had during the war were

considered incorrigible and morally bankrupt.

"Nobody should exhume the past with necrophilic delight and set themselves up as judges of those who were the unwitting instruments of a murderous regime. Social Democrats, trade union leaders, CDU politicians, building workers and factory owners of today were once Hitler Youth leaders, soldiers, officers, lawyers, civil servants or newspaper reporters in Nazi Germany. To point the accusing finger at them after almost three-and-a-half decades and to insist on a second period of denazification would

Police break up meeting as neo-Nazi group surfaces

Neo-Nazi Michael Kühnen, 23, told North German Radio early this year: "Of course I regard Adolf Hitler and his programme as the great example."

Hitlerite Kühnen, who likes to call himself the *Gauleiter* (district leader) of Schleswig-Holstein, was arrested in the Tannenhof Inn in Lentföhrden, to the north of Hamburg, after he and a group of fellow neo-Nazis had a sharp engagement with the police. Kühnen and a hundred other neo-Fascists had gathered to celebrate the memory of Adolf Hitler, but they got no further than singing the first lines of *Deutschland, Deutschland, über Alles* while giving the Hitler salute when their barricaded room was stormed by the police.

This macabre event was organised by the National Socialist Action Front which recently attempted to put up candidates for the Hamburg Land elections. However, the brownshirts withdrew their men before the voters could tell them where to get off.

Michael Kühnen was his group's leading candidate. The main point in his programme was that the ban should be lifted on the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), founded in 1925, which considers itself the direct successor to Hitler's NSDAP. *Der Sturm*, the "militant SA organ for Hamburg, and area" wrote: "The National Socialist Workers' Party has been forced to go underground by Jewish-democratic forces... yet the swastika lives as the German symbol of liberty in the hearts of our people."

This group was in fact nothing but a Trojan horse. The string-pullers behind it in Hamburg are the so-called Hansa Gang, which has a membership fluctuating between 20 and 30 men and is one of the most militant neo-Fascist organisations in the Federal Republic of Germany today. The increasing amount of daubing, of anti-Semitic agitation and political fighting in Hamburg is attributed to this organisation.

The members of the gang, as at Lentföhrden, usually go about in uniform-type black clothing, black ties and black jackboots. They call their organisation by various names the NSDAP Reconstruction Organisation, the SA Storm, the Association of Hamburg Lassies, the Social Nationalist Youth and the Hansa Leisure Centre.

Former Bundeswehr lieutenant Michael Kühnen, who is under investigation by the Hamburg state prosecutor on 17 possible charges and who was recently given a ten-month suspended sentence for sedition in Nuremberg, organised and fanned the gang.

Then there were only a small number of militant right-wing extremists in

Hamburg, most of whom had come from the NPD or its youth organisations. There had been a neo-Fascist group in the area before 1977 but it split up after its leader emigrated to South Africa.

Since Kühnen's takeover in spring 1977, this sorry band has been transformed into a tough and dangerous group, even though its membership is still not very big.

Der Sturm tells us about the beliefs of these neo-Fascists: "Throughout the Aryan world, the forces of rebirth are stirring, white men who are no longer prepared to be led around by the noses by Jews, negroes and criminals." And: "The Jewish problem and the racial question are to be solved nationally. Never again must the Jew be allowed to force Aryan races to fight against white states which attempted to break the power of the hook-noses, as happened in 1939 against the German Reich." Finally: "Germany is the natural leader of the white world."

Kühnen's ambitions are not confined to Hamburg. He is well on the way to becoming one of the most macabre neo-Fascist figures in the country. New militant groups operating on his principles have been set up in Bremen, Hanover, Brunswick and Schleswig-Holstein.

Kühnen's organisations has ties with other extreme right-wing and National Socialist organisations, and individuals such as the Schleswig-Holstein farmer and former SS officer Thies Christoperson, and the publicist Frank A. The *Auschwitz Lie*, standard reading for right-wing extremists, and to former journalist Edgar Geiss, who gave the Hitler salute at the burial of former SS police chief Herbert Kappler.

It has close ties with Uwe Rohwer, who gives right-wing extremists para-military training on his "Viking farm" in Schleswig-Holstein. This is where the attack on the troop exercise centre in Bergen-Hohne in February was organised.

Karsten Plog

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 July 1978)

Lomé talks

Continued from page 1

EEC offers assistance without intervening in a country's domestic affairs, but this must be taken with a pinch of salt.

The Common Market is concerned not only with commodities, cash and stable earnings, but also with the development of economic structures.

Some developing countries are virtually helpless when faced with the modern marketing techniques of others who also trade in tropical produce.

Yet even though developing countries have felt the benefits of cooperation with the EEC in all sectors of their emerging economies, they are still, not prepared in return to implement human rights. This comes as an unexpected back-lash. This makes even more painful the ACP countries' refusal to concede safeguards for investments by the EEC.

The EEC has 18 months in which to impress on the developing countries that partnership means giving as well as taking. The Jamaican Foreign Minister, as spokesman for them, must evidently be reminded that self-assurance is fine but should not be exaggerated!

Helmut J. Weiland

(Nordwest-Zeitung, 25 July 1978)

Matthias Walden
(Welt am Sonntag, 23 July 1978)

■ EMPLOYMENT

Labour body hits back on workless figures

Süddeutsche Zeitung

From 1 January 1975 to 31 May 1978 there were 42 million unemployed in the Federal Republic of Germany on the basis of the average annual figures. Despite the drop in the jobless total in June to 877,319 the average number of workers registered as unemployed in the first five months of the year was 1,072,000.

At the same time employers in trade, commerce and industry are constantly complaining that they cannot find workers to fill vacancies? How is this contradiction to be explained?

Helmuth Mintz, vice-president of the Federal Institute of Labour in Munich, says: "A million unemployed — no-one concerned with this problem should be able to sleep in peace."

The Institute pays an average of DM900 a month to each unemployed worker with health insurance deducted from this amount. Studies have shown that the disposable income of the unemployed is sometimes up to 30 per cent below the national assistance levels.

The fact that a small number of unemployed are workshy should not blind us to the problems and difficulties of the vast majority of those who want to work.

The Federal Institute of Labour has been blamed for the statistical discrepancies. Mintz's answer is: "We are not an Institute for statistics." The Bundestag not the Institute of Labour laid down the regulations on the definition of unemployment and those who did not like it could try to have the law changed.

The law does not distinguish between "genuine" and "fake" unemployed. In Mintz's view, it is complete nonsense to claim that those who do not receive unemployment benefits are not "really" unemployed. He says these people are perhaps the "most genuine" unemployed of all — for example, recent school-leavers who cannot find a job, have paid no social security contributions and therefore cannot claim unemployment benefits.

It should not be forgotten that employers often insist on exceptionally high qualifications. Mintz puts it dramatically: "They want Olympic-class workers". Employers should adapt to the labour market when taking on workers.

As a result of the long period of high unemployment, there have been structural improvements in many companies. Firms are no longer prepared to carry passengers, as in the days of the economic boom, when great efforts were made to attract foreign workers.

Today companies only take on highly qualified people. They can pick the best, as indicated by fact that most companies have not taken advantage of government training subsidies. Only a very few companies are prepared to allow workers to gain their qualifications on the job.

Mintz emphatically rejects the criticism that workers are lazy. Last year, for example, the Federal Institute of Labour stopped unemployment payments on 291,000 occasions. This happens when a

worker has resigned from his post, or refuses to take a job he could be reasonably expected to do. Of those cut off, 224,000 appealed to the Labour Courts, who ordered payment to be resumed to 81,000. The labour administration thus only won two-thirds of the cases.

Another figure worth mentioning: 220,000 workers had payments stopped because they had resigned from their posts. When people resign in times of high unemployment, one has to ask whether working conditions were bad. If, even today, many companies have difficulty finding workers, this could be connected with working conditions.

To solve unemployment, we have to know the reasons. One main cause is the economic recession, which in the past four years has cost 1.7 million jobs.

This was not the result of labour policies. These policies and financial aid from Bonn and the Länder have cushioned the effects of the recession and saved an average of 250,000 jobs a year.

In 1974-75 1.1 million workers were sacked, 570,000 more than the numbers taking up employment. Then there are structural influences caused by the constant improvements in technology and economic rationalisation.

The worldwide division of labour is making itself felt. When labour supply and demand are not in qualitative proportion, the result is structural unemployment.

By 1985 there will be another million people on the labour market. To solve this problem, more economic growth is

Five Hessian Labour Court judges and a lawyer have just published a study which shows that workers who go to the courts to keep their jobs are usually disappointed.

The climate in West German companies has changed dramatically since the boom days when no-one needed to worry about losing his job, as reflected in the number of cases before the Labour Courts.

The authors of the study describe a variety of cases, showing that companies are increasingly getting rid of workers who cannot fully cope. In about a third of cases in which the authors themselves were involved, workers had been sacked on grounds of poor health.

Theo Rasehorn, a judge at the Land High Court, writes in the preface: "These are not illnesses which lead to permanent incapacitation or unfitness for work. The employer is entitled to dismiss a worker if he has been absent through illness for a certain period of time."

He adds sarcastically: "This period is worked out by computer in large companies, just like defective car parts are sorted out by the computer inspection of a car."

Foreigners who have physical and psychological difficulties adapting to work in West Germany are often involved. The companies thereby improve the overall quality of their staff, even though they often have to wait for long periods before they find suitable replacements.

Illness is not always cited as the real reason for dismissal. Companies often

necessary. Mintz points out that the number of 877,000 unemployed cannot be reduced simply by 300,000 of them filling the 300,000 vacancies now available.

Professional qualifications, age, sex and often even religion are often not right. In 1977, the sick 27 per cent of all unemployed, as against 18 per cent in 1976; 7.6 per cent of the unemployed were aged between 55 and 60.

Josef Stingl, president of the Institute of Labour, has strongly denied that his organisation does nothing but administer the unemployed. In 1977, 3.3 million registered with labour exchanges as unemployed and 2.2 vacancies were notified; 2.3 workers got a job through the labour exchanges.

This trend has continued in 1978. In the first five months 850,000 workers were found new jobs. Many took the opportunity to retrain: in the first quarter of this year, 45,500 workers, 35.8 per cent of whom had previously been unemployed, were getting further professional training or being retrained.

Stingl says that the main reason for the high level of unemployment is the low demand for labour.

The Council of Economic Experts has also pointed to cyclical factors. It says about 0.5 million jobs have been lost because capacities are not being fully used. This underemployment can only be reduced by a powerful economic boom, but even if this came, there would still be the problem of finding work for the extra one million people coming on to the market.

The pressure on the job reservoir will certainly stay until 1988 when the supply of labour, by then 25.5 million, will drop. The number of school-leavers and German workers will drop and in the long term, a new shortage of labour is foreseeable.

Hubert Neumann

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 July 1978)

Court action seldom keeps jobs — study

give "internal business reasons" or "lack of orders" as reasons. But in fact they want to avoid a "social selection" in which they would have to dismiss more effective workers.

Hasty and unreasonable dismissals also occur. These are notified on forms with the reasons, such as "drunk on duty," printed. The letter of dismissal says: "Only the cause of dismissal ticked above is valid in your case."

Employers who use these methods, say the authors, will have difficulty persuading the courts that they have taken the circumstances of each individual into account and the interests of both parties to the contract.

Workers are not often enough prepared to go to court over dismissals, even when their chances of winning the case are reasonable. According to the authors, they often accept their dismissal in return for small compensatory payments.

"The fact is that under the present legislation a worker cannot keep his job or get it back again if he has been sacked, even if he wins his case against unfair dismissal," they say.

These cases, of this kind, seldom last less than three-and-a-half to four

months. A ruling in a second court would take another year, apart from the possibility of an appeal. By the time the procedures are over, the worker has long been away from his company. Workers only have the right in exceptional cases to re-employment once the period of notice has expired.

The workers are, therefore, forced to look for another job. "If he finds one, he is hardly likely to give it up to return to the employment from which he was dismissed if the court rules in his favour," say the authors. It is therefore understandable that workers usually accept compensation.

The authors conclude: "Those who say that the law on protection against dismissal is practically nothing but a law on compensation, and that the function of the judge is to sweeten the pill of incorrect dismissal by compensation, are not that far wide of the mark."

To avoid this sorry situation, the authors suggest a law which would keep a worker in employment until a labour court had ruled on the dismissal. In this case, they argue, the worker would not need another job until the court had ruled.

This idea is not new in German law. Tenants given notice can stay on, and is up to the landlord to have them legally evicted, say the authors.

Arbeitsgerichtsprotokolle, by Peter and other judges at the Frankfurt and Darmstadt Labour Courts, is published by Luchterhand Verlag.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 July 1978)

Minister launches jobs plan

Bonn Minister of Labour, Ehrenberg has presented a three-point programme to help reduce unemployment which calls for speeding up job-finding, improving the retraining system and cutting out abuses of the unemployment benefits system.

The programme has special measures to help the young, women and people unemployed for long periods. The main emphasis is on finding jobs faster and increasing the range of training schemes.

Contacts between labour exchanges and companies are to be improved, with among other things, regular discussions on the state of the labour market.

A new system is to be introduced in labour exchanges in which vacancies will be displayed and unemployed workers can see if there are jobs that interest them. Now they have to discuss their situation with an employment officer before being told of available work.

In general, the labour exchanges will aim for more publicity, giving surveys of employment in newspapers and on television.

The programme includes a number of new measures, some of which have already been introduced. The Federal Institute of Labour will publish the ruling which will be sent to local labour exchanges. There will also be an amendment to labour legislation which the Cabinet hopes to have a draft by October.

Heinrich Ehrenberg stressed that his programme did not guarantee full employment.

Heinz Murrmann

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 20 July 1978)

■ FOREIGN AID

Development volunteers find coming home hardest

Development begins at home, many aid volunteers from the Federal Republic of Germany are convinced on their return from the Third World. But readjustment often proves difficult.

"There I was, in front of a slot machine at Frankfurt airport, and I wanted to get to the main railway station," says Klaus Benninghaus.

An everyday situation, nothing unusual you might say, but not as he saw it. Benninghaus had just returned to a world that seemed alien, impersonal and hectic.

He was a bricklayer and civil engineer who spent a two-year tour of duty as a development aid volunteer in Peru, where from 1973 to 1975 he was an adviser at a training college.

Then one day he was back in Frankfurt. That was three years ago and he has still not readjusted to life in his native country.

"Here everything is too regulated, automated. I reckon it's probably about time I went back out there for a spell," he says.

Five hundred development aid volunteers a year return from tours of duty in the Third World. How do they feel about their country?

"If I had known then what I would go through in the three years after my return I would have stayed in Botswana," one says.

But family considerations made it difficult for economics graduate Günter Bonnet. From 1973 to 1975 he was a planning officer attached to Botswana's Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance.

He has retained career links with development aid and now works for the Bonn Ministry of Research and Technology, dealing with scientific and technological cooperation with Asia.

"But it took me a very long time indeed to readjust to the way of life back here," Bonnet says. "In Botswana I had much more intensive social ties, a much more satisfying daily routine and more from life in every way."

Manies Nussbaum feels much the same. "Germany," she says, "needs development aid itself when it comes to humanity." She worked as a nurse in Cameroon until 1977.

Unlike the other, who were all enlisted by DED, a government agency, she went out with a Roman Catholic aid scheme.

What particularly annoys her is the lack of interest shown by her present colleagues in living conditions in the Third World. "By and large they couldn't care less about something to which I devoted three years of my life."

This is a disappointment shared by many aid workers. When they went to Africa, Asia or Latin America they were admired by people at home.

But on their return, aid volunteers who once respected for doing something out of the ordinary are expected to reintegrate smoothly into a society of which they have grown more critical in many respects.

Personal experience of famine and hardship make them wonder whether a life of luxury back home is morally or politically justified.

A majority, a survey reveals, are convinced that, despite the provision of de-

velopment aid, relations between Bonn and the developing countries can only be on a partnership basis in the wake of a new international economic order.

This view is usually based on what they feel they learned overseas. "At a personal level development aid is principally development aid for the aid volunteers," says Dieter Fischer.

Yet he feels his tour of duty in Tanzania was a success because he quickly came to realise "that people there will have to develop themselves and we whites ought not to present them with imported targets."

Regardless of these considerations many aid volunteers are convinced that most of the work must be done in Germany.

To start with, however, many of them are worried about their careers. A brochure issued by the central labour exchange in Frankfurt may advise advice and a fresh start, but most returnees go straight on to the dole.

Since a 1976 amendment to the Development Aid Volunteers Act, they have been entitled to sign on straight away for unemployment benefit.

Often they retrain, having decided to go in for a career in education or welfare. They are motivated both by the experience gained in the Third World and by the desire to stimulate awareness.

The agencies that recruit aid volunteers welcome this desire to put experience to good use. Karl Richter, who works for an organisation set up to help and maintain ties with returnees, says:

"Alumni ought not to seek orientation in and from the agencies but in the environment of which they now form a part."

They should spell out the North-South conflict in such a way that everyone is prepared to sacrifice some luxuries to enable the developing countries to make headway.

Perhaps, he says, development aid policies will take a turn for the better once 20 returnees are members of the Bundestag.

Continued from page 3

national or international level because of their influence on inflation, employment and growth.

2. Since the early 60s there has been a big change in the international division of labour. This, basically, is the reason for exchange-rate fluctuations.

The dollar has forfeited its role as the leading currency because of far-reaching changes in US import-export patterns, economic setbacks over the productivity gap and politico-military factors (Vietnam).

Structural problems resulting from the transfer of wage-intensive manufacturing to low-wage countries, and the evolution of highly sophisticated new industries in the developed free-market economies cannot be dealt with in a manner anywhere near satisfactory by means of naive overall Keynesian controls.

The only policy with any chance is an active, internationally coordinated structural one which, to be successful, cannot



Practical help: Development aid volunteer from the Federal Republic of Germany instructs a class of Colombians in the use of machinery. (Photo: Bundesbildstelle)

The Bundestag economic cooperation committee last dealt with returnees in November 1977. "Complaints that insufficient use is made of returnees' experience are justified," says Uwe Holtz, Social Democratic committee chairman.

But former development aid volunteers ought not "to retreat into their shells." The sides, Holtz says, ought to meet halfway.

He calls on returnees to "raise issues that are sure to prove even more vital for future generations but are not seen by politicians drawing parliamentary salaries of DM7,000 a month."

Paul Hoffacker, a Christian Democratic member of the Bundestag committee, agrees. He too regards returnees as people "who can prevent us from making fresh mistakes."

Donor countries also have much to learn from the developing world, he adds, "otherwise development aid is nothing more than a variation of neo-colonialism."

Early next year the Christian Democrats are to hold a special conference on how to put across their development aid concept to ordinary people.

"I hope we manage to enlist the support of a fair number of returnees," says Hoffacker. "Otherwise the smart alecs will have it all their own way."

Ludger Kühnhardt

(Deutsche Zeitung, 21 July 1978)

Bonn summit

dispense with control over the activities of the multinationals.

A policy based on the assumption that financial incentives are an adequate means of influencing the problem of output and investment decisions by the multinationals is not only naive; it is irresponsible and wasteful because it is doomed to failure.

Yet not even the idea of an international structural fund to influence structural change as an aspect of the international division of labour was discussed at the summit.

Even the scant pointers towards a policy of fully employment and qualified growth, based as they are on negative experience in recent years, were intentionally set aside.

Since experience has shown that tax incentives have little effect on employment in the present economic system, an internationally coordinated stability policy ought, even in the short term, to

have included price and employment undertakings.

In addition to this shortcoming, the Bonn summiters clearly chose to forgo qualified growth. They continue to advocate quantitative growth at the risk of further development of atomic energy.

The results of the Bonn economic internationale must disappoint anyone who for years has called for democratically controlled, effective economic and development policies.

The summiters' horizons were bounded by practices which are controversial, and in some cases have proved useless at national level, and by unsuccessful growth and economic policies.

The outcome of the debate on how to invest Bonn's DM13,000m supplementary budget seems a foregone conclusion. It will be a compromise between tax cuts and extra-spending that leaves the jobless out in the cold.

Rudolf Hickel

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 July 1978)

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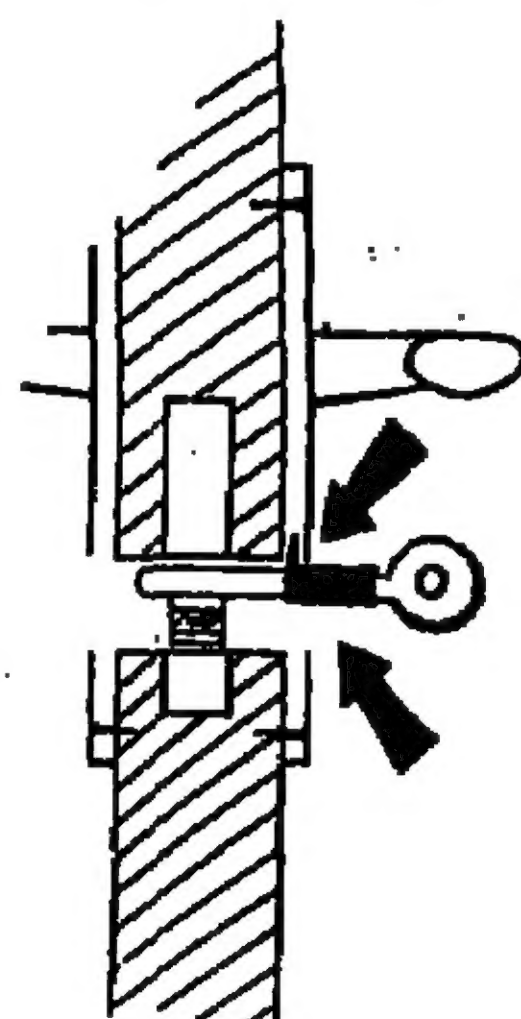
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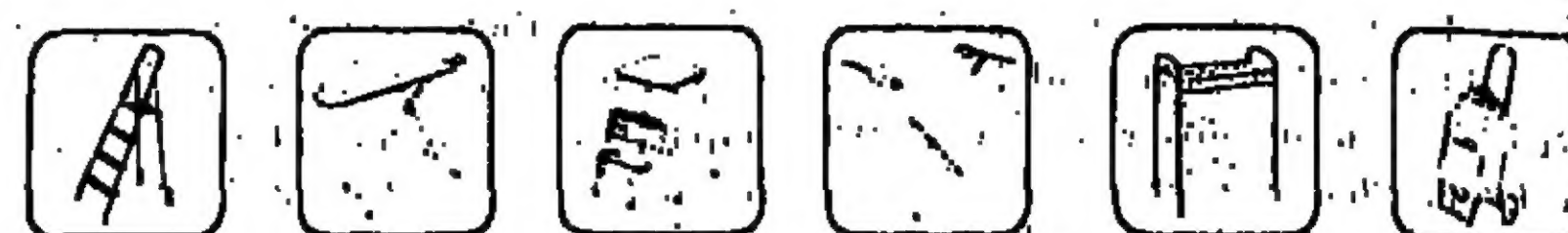
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RESEARCH

Europe's Geos 2 satellite in orbit action station

Geos 2, the latest Eurosatellite, has been put into orbit from Cape Canaveral, Florida, by a US Delta 2914 rocket.

The satellite and its research programme are backed by Esa, the European space agency, of which Bonn is a leading member.

It was built by a consortium of companies in 10 countries: Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The main contractor was Britain's Aerospace Dynamic Group, with the principal co-contractor, Dornier System GmbH of Munich.

Dornier designed and built the body and navigational equipment of the satellite. AEG-Telefunken supplied the solar cell generators.

Geos 2 is designed to relay data from its vantage point in space for two years. It weighed 573 kg (1,260 lb) at take-off and the main, cylindrical unit is 1.62 metres (5ft 4in) in diameter and 1.1 metres (3ft 7in) tall.

The control centre is at Darmstadt, south of Frankfurt. Thirty-six hours after take-off the satellite's booster engine was activated and Geos manoeuvred into its operational, geostationary orbit.

The satellite travels at a speed equivalent to the earth's rotation at an altitude of 35,900 kilometres (22,400 miles) above the equator.

It appears to hover over Africa and can maintain unbroken contact with its Odenwald tracking station near the European Space Operations Centre in Darmstadt.

Geos will shortly begin relaying data at the rate of 100 kilobits per second, not only maintaining a non-stop flow of information but also relaying up to 100 times more data than previous Eurosatellites.

During some transmission the amount of information per second will correspond to ten sheets of typewritten paper at 2,000 units per page.

Geos 2's orbit takes it through a layer of the magnetosphere in which much of the activity causing magnetic and ionospheric disturbance is thought to occur.

It will measure electrical and magnetic fields in the magnetosphere and register their fluctuation due to solar radiation. Its payload includes seven packages of experiments supplied by 11 research institutes.

Proton and electron density will be measured, as will their spectral distribution and the strength and chronological changes of magnetic fields.

The three experiments devised in the Federal Republic of Germany are the work of scientists at Max Planck Institutes: one from Lindau, on Lake Constance, the other two from Garching, near Munich.

One of the Garching projects is in as-

sociation with Berne University, Switzerland, and deals with the composition, energy spectrum and distribution of ions. Geos 2's research programme is part of the International Magnetospheric Study, a worldwide venture that began in 1976 and continues until 1979.

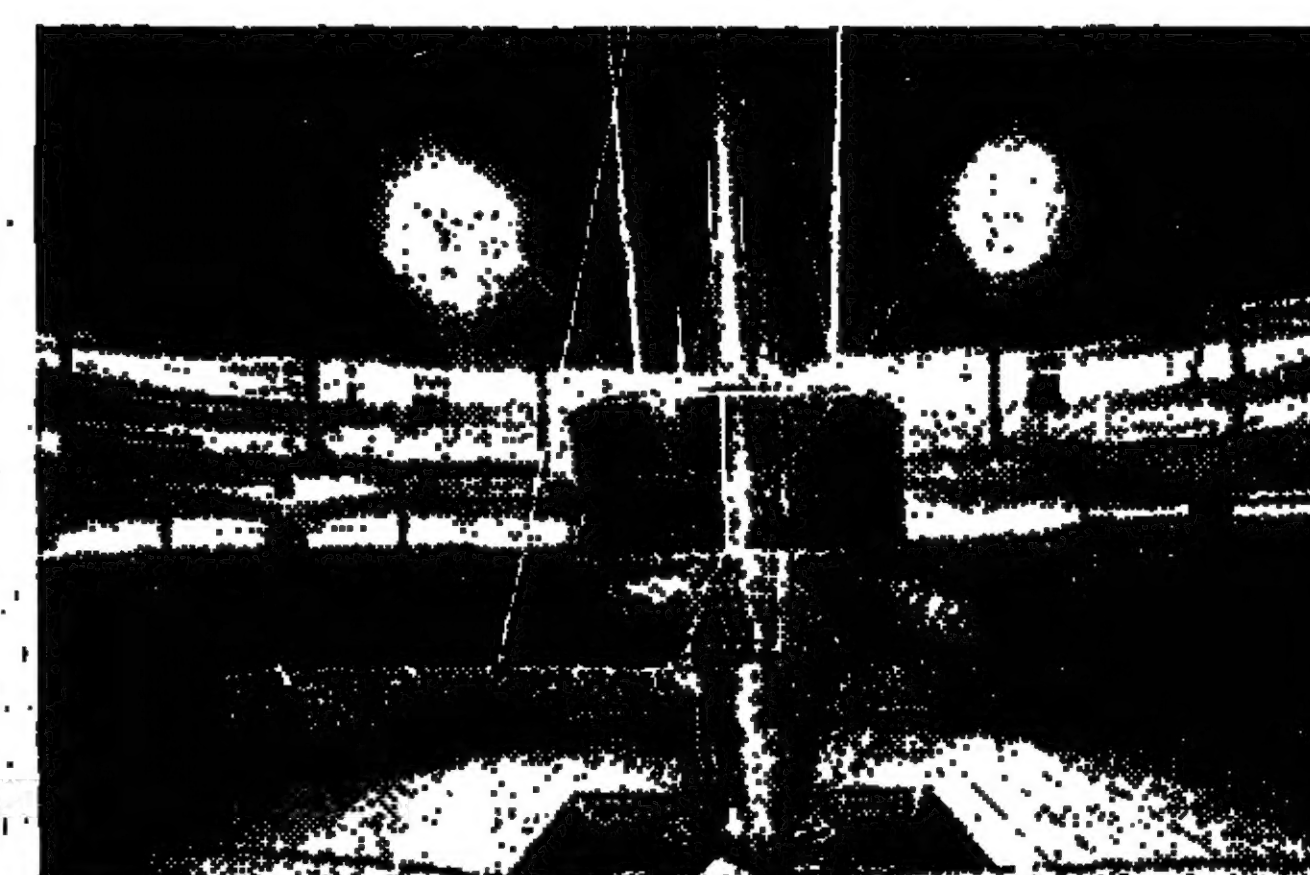
The satellite's instruments must be capable of extremely sensitive measurement, so the satellite itself has to be electromagnetically inert to ensure that readings are not distorted.

Geos has eight arms that will gradually be extended to full length as the satellite settles down to its research programme.

Experimental reconfiguring equipment at the end of each arm will be kept as far away from the body of the satellite as possible to reduce interference and ensure detection of minute changes in the magnetosphere.

Two arms are 20 metres (65ft) long, so Geos will have an impressive span of about 40 metres.

Research and development of the arms, the high-speed data relay and the



Europe's satellite: Geos 2, the Eurosatellite built by a consortium of companies in ten countries which is now in orbit. Dornier System GmbH of Munich was one of the main contractors, building the body, navigational equipment and the telescoping arms. (Photo: ESOC)

electromagnetic purity were all new ideas in Western European space research.

During its first year in operation Geos will gradually move along the equator from 0 to 35 degrees East. Its readings will be compared with those from a variety of balloons and high-altitude rockets in the earth's magnetic field.

Geos 2's programme was originally planned for Geos 1, but the first satellite failed to reach its orbit because of rocket trouble.

Shortly after take-off in April 1977 the second and third stages of the Delta rocket were released too early. The faulty equipment was replaced and Geos 2 has so far been a success.

Geos 1 relayed information for over a year, but because it failed to reach its geostationary orbit the mission was only a partial success. Rudolf Hofstätter

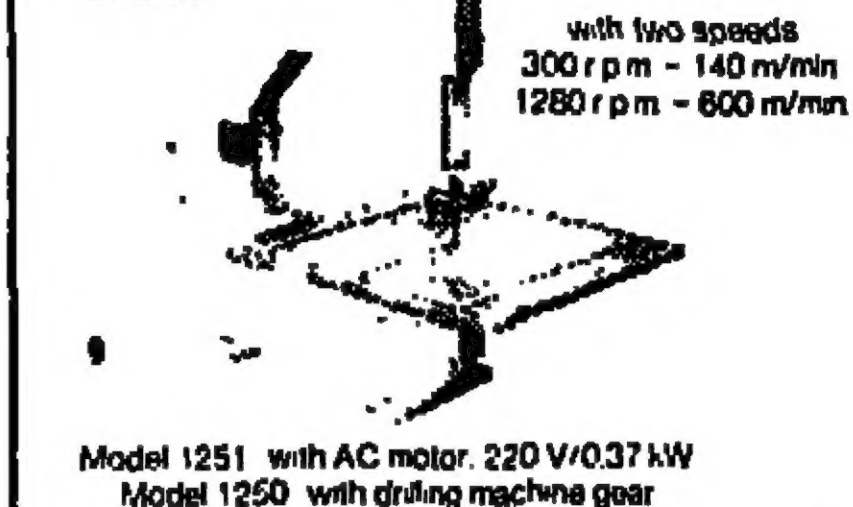
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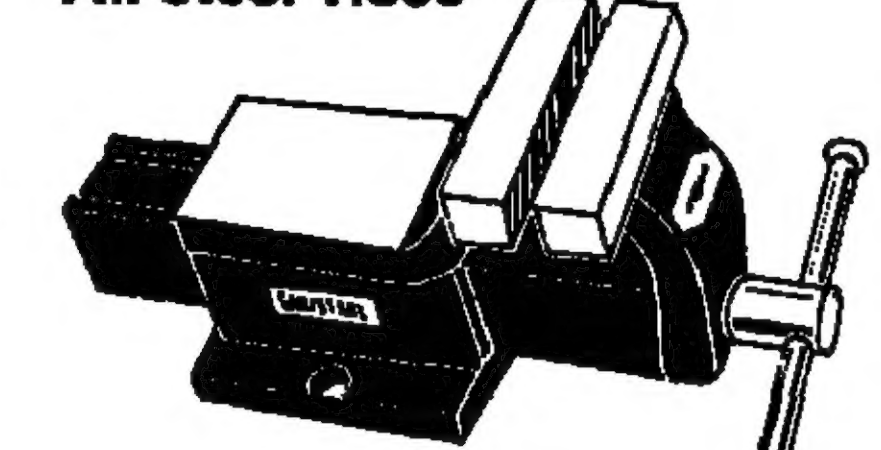
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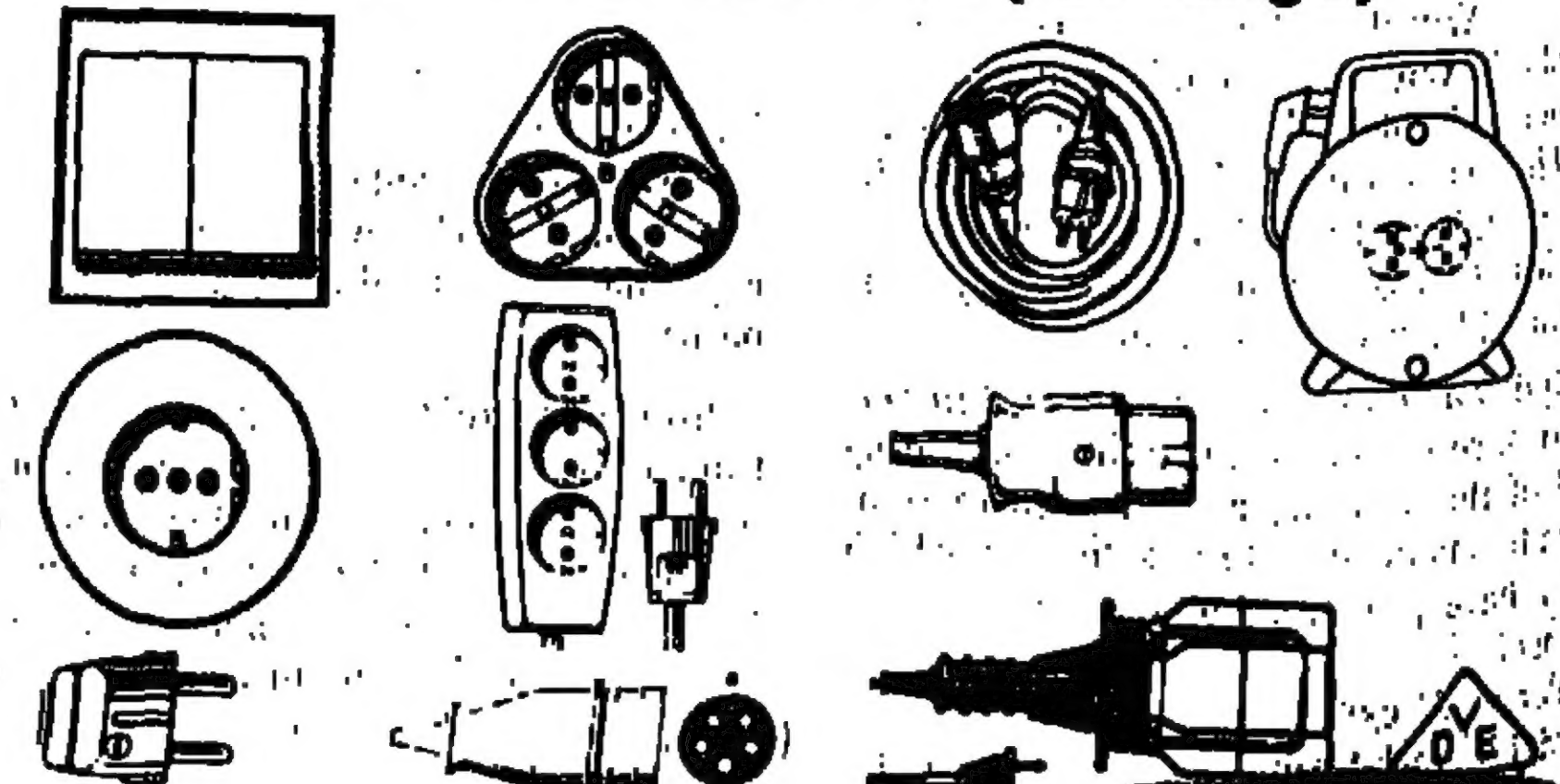


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CINEMA

Handke turns fine novel into a singular film

Films based on works of literature usually end up either doing violence to the original or to the medium of film, reducing language to pictures and action scenes or giving too much prominence to language and trespassing against the basic laws of film.

Peter Handke's film *Die linkshändige Frau* (The Left-Handed Woman), the official German entry at the Cannes film festival, is unusual in that it falls into neither of these traps. Handke is a writer fascinated by films and a great admirer of Western director John Ford. He directed the film of his novel, something unusual enough in itself.

Handke, an Austrian who lives near Paris, has achieved what no film buff would credit a writer with the ability to do. He has not simply transformed into images his story of 30-year-old Marianne, who apparently without motive tells her husband, Bruno, a businessman, to leave her so that she can live alone with their child.

Instead, as one would not have expected from an author so in love with language, he has seriously and with a certain amount of success tried to transfer the aesthetic and philosophical principles of his writing as directly and naturally as possible on to film. The result is that *Die linkshändige Frau* is almost a new cinematic form. The camera itself becomes the typewriter, the motor and medium of the reflecting imagination.

It is hardly surprising that many film insiders simply do not want to acknowledge the special quality of this film and regard it as another impertinent attempt by a literary dilettante to move into the medium of film. The almost monotonous insistence, the gentle precision with which Handke weighs the world and finds it wanting, requires an active filmgazer who plays along, seeks and perseveres, and not a mere consumer looking for remarkable cinematic effects.

Marianne's husband Bruno (played by Bruno Ganz) is living with a teacher called Francisca (Angela Winkler). He meets Marianne in his office in town and there is confusion, embarrassment and strangeness between them, along with some trace of former intimacy.

The two, who have been living apart for some time, try to work out each other's thoughts and how they are coping with the new situation. Their child Stefan (Markus Mieleisen) helps his parents out of this awkward situation by forcing them to give him their attention. This scene is full of a stifling sense of awkwardness which culminates in the sentence: "They were hopelessly silent."

The book describes this and other phases of an alienation in which a strange form of inwardness between husband and wife arises with the simplicity of a fairy tale. It avoids the usual psychological approach but too frequently lapses into the conventional and simplistic.

The film by no means sticks religiously to the text, making visible alienation, awkward tenderness, fear, silence, and confusion and Marianne's search for a new identity. It does so directly and subtly.

This means the inner situation of the

left-handed woman, who is still unsure of herself, is not merely captured in special "silent scenes," but in many apparently pointless and unmotivated camera scenes following her everyday life — for example in the leitmotiv of her repeated stops and pauses accompanied by the sound of a train rushing past. Or in the sequence which opens and ends the film: blades of green grass blowing in the spring wind which suddenly vanish behind the grey wall of a passing train photographed from close up — an image of familiar delight is suddenly covered by noisy and aggressive technology symbolising the strange and repulsive.

Striking scenes such as this occur frequently. Nearness and distance, the idyllic and the strange, communication and "hopeless silence" give way to one another and interpenetrate one another so often that it is hardly possible to distinguish them.

Then there is the magnificent scene in which we see two adults, Marianne and Francisca, talking while two children fight in playful but deadly earnest. At the end the seemingly relaxed conversation between the women turns out to be a secret duel when Marianne asks Francisca straight out what it is like living with Bruno.

The mysterious and uncanny is always lurking in the apparently familiar and everyday. Everything is so beautiful, the spacious old house (where Handke himself lives), the high French windows through which we see surprising suburban and country landscapes.

Yet it is all wrong, it all seems like the uncanny quiet before the storm, like the last deep intake of breath before the end of the world. The most harmless everyday objects — a door, a staircase, a bottle, a street sign, a garden gate — seem to be out of space and time.

The extremely unorthodox and somewhat confused story of emancipation is only the occasion and not the content of the film. What counts is the observation of reality in all its nuances. The camera, team led by Wim Wenders' cameraman Robbie Müller is on a perpetual voyage of discovery.



Director Edgar Reitz talks to Hannelore Elsner and Tilo Prückner during the filming of *The Tailor of Ulm*, the story of a man who made flights in a primitive glider at the beginning of the 19th century.

(Photo: Frauke Hanck)



Creating a new form: Edith Clever in Peter Handke's *The Left-Handed Woman*, the Federal Republic of Germany's official entry at the Cannes film festival.

(Photo: Filmverlag der Autoren)

The Tailor of Ulm flies again

Edgar Reitz, whose best-known film is *Stunde Null* (Zero Hour), is now directing a film called *Der Schneider von Ulm* (The Tailor of Ulm), the story of Albrecht Ludwig Berblinger who died in 1811 when his glider crashed into the river Danube.

Today we know that the reason Berblinger crashed was that he was not familiar with the thermal currents above the river.

The preparations for this DM3m project took two years as the producers wanted to capture all the historical and technical details as precisely as possible, as well as realistically portraying the main characters.

The film, produced by Peter Gene and Veith von Fürstenberg, is being shot mainly in Czechoslovakia where there are villages and stretches of countryside unscathed by modern technology. Instead of in Ulm and Vienna, where Berblinger tested the flying apparatus attached to a balloon which his friend Jakob Degen had invented, the early scenes were shot in Prague, Český Krumlov and Eger.

The scenes in which the Tailor of Ulm — a hundred years before the first proper glider flights by Otto Lilienthal — flies his self-designed glider were shot in the Swabian Alps. The glider was built by an Augsburg firm to the original plans. We spent two days observing these complicated and exciting scenes being shot.

In the wooded and hilly landscape with its rich green meadows near Degenfeld a giant cableway has been built. There are four gondolas, on one of which Tilo Prückner, who plays the Tailor, hangs. In front of him is cameraman Dietrich Lohmann, his lens trained on Prückner. In the other two gondolas are two men from the technical team who control the tailor's and the cameraman's movements. The effect on the screen will be that of Prückner flying directly at the audience.

The aerial shots are mostly taken from helicopters. The picture is bound to shake sometimes but the camera goes through the same motions as the glider and shows him without interruption and with the complete background. There are also impressive close-ups.

All this is rehearsed for hours until at last the long wait for a print is rewarded.

Continued on page 11

EXHIBITION

Weegee the Famous: life and death in the viewfinder

Arthur Fellig was an American newspaperman who called himself Weegee the Famous and made a great reputation for his photographs of the violent side of New York — murders, accidents, fires.

The Folkwang Museum in Essen is holding an exhibition of his work called *Weegee (1899-1968) — Culprits and Victims*. The Munich Schirmer/Mosel Verlag is publishing the first monograph on Weegee containing reproductions of the 85 photographs on show at the Essen exhibition and an excellent introduction by the American art critic John Coplan.

At night in New York, Weegee took his Speed Graphic camera and went out and filmed the sordid, and murderous life of the city.

The radio next to his bed was permanently tuned to the police band and he slept in his suit so that he could get to the scene of a crime quickly. Often he was there before the police and filmed what he saw in his way: flashlight, aperture 16, 1/200 second. His first picture in *Life* magazine was of two murdered gangsters. His invoice read: "Two murders — 85 dollars."

The man who lived from the deaths he photographed made himself into a legend in the 1940s: he called himself Weegee the Famous and was the most sensational photographer in the sensational city of New York.

Arthur Fellig was born in Zloczet, then part of Austria, now part of Poland, in 1899. His Jewish parents immigrated to New York and he grew up on the lower East Side.

The exhibition's title "Culprits and Victims" is ambivalent. Who is the culprit? The murderer? Or the photographer, who makes the murderer into a victim?

We see in Weegee the criminal, reportage photographer in his purest and dirtiest form: a man whose first aid

Continued from page 10

Tilo Prückner glides into the valley from the top of the mountain. His part not only requires acting but considerable physical ability and he revels in this. The day before, tied to the apparatus, he jumped from the roof of a hut and actually flew for a few yards.

"The thing is pretty heavy — 24 kilos. But when I am gliding downwards the air presses against it and I hardly notice the weight. Only you have to be careful when you are landing, because it presses you down," he says.

Prückner was determined to do the famous crash into the Danube himself. It took a lot of persuasion to make him agree to a professional stuntman doing the crash.

Edgar Reitz and his assistant Petra Kiener, who wrote the script with him, want to free Berblinger from his traditional image as a hopeless romantic and visionary. Their researches have shown that he was a serious, committed and progressive man — a man with whose efforts to extend the bounds of human potential we can still identify today. The Tailor of Ulm is a by no means unimportant part of our own past.

Reitz's film should be on our screens in January 1979. Frauke Hanck

(Köln Stadt-Anzeiger, 21 July 1978)

when he got to the scene of the crime was to take his picture at all costs.

But what photographs, what faces?

The faces of children sleeping on fire escapes because it is too hot in their small flats; the faces of killers, with blood and despair all over them; pictures from doss-houses and prisons, descriptions of the scene of the crime, the fingerprints of violence, photos that jump at you and attack you.

Weegee's biography is as spectacular as his photography, a three-penny opera set in New York. The city wrote the script and the fact that Weegee himself became the hero in the spotlight of his own flashlight was a matter of skillful directing.

At the age of 14 he was already earning his living as a photographer. At 18 he left home, slept in doss-houses on the Bowery, earned money taking passport photos and later in the darkroom of a news agency.

In 1935 he rented a room opposite the main police station in Manhattan and began his career as the photographer of fire and crime, of the joy and misery of the townspeople.

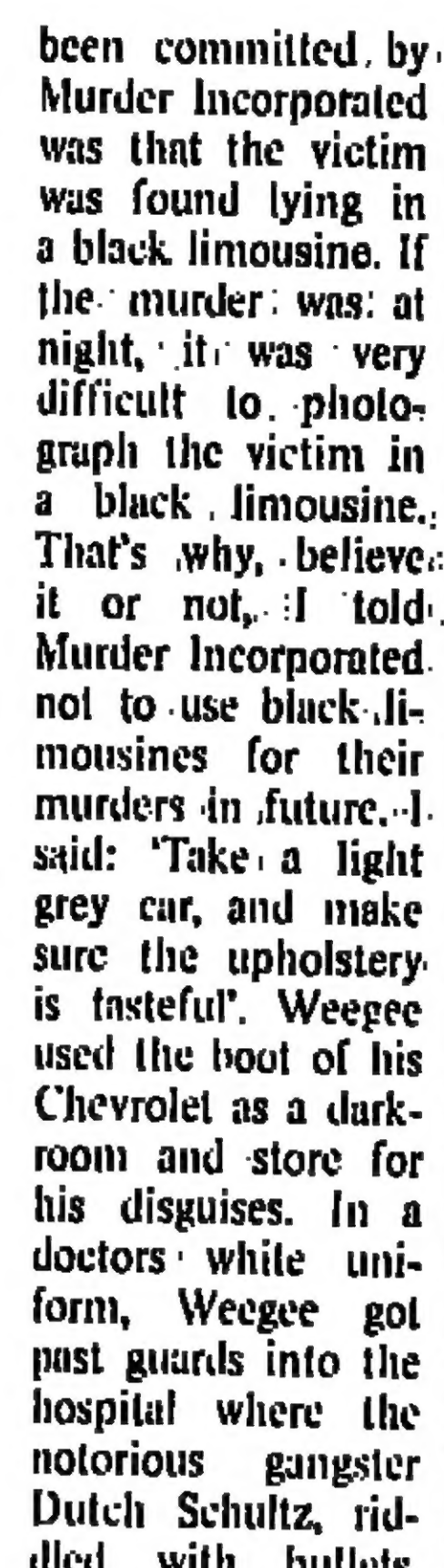
To be a success with the yellow press, Weegee had to work faster and produce cruder effects than his colleagues. They used to say he got there before the murder was committed. Weegee shot explosive photos of the scene of the crime where we imagine we can still see the shadow of the criminal.

For ten years he photographed a murder every night. "I was choosy. I always picked the best murders and I only snapped dead gangsters who had a name," said Weegee, a cynic out of passion and necessity.

Weegee knew all the hoods of the depression years: Jack Legs Diamond, Mad Dog Cole, Lefty Gordon, and they knew him. With his fat cigar and his creased pin-striped suits he did not look very different from them.

Always ready with a joke, he described himself as "the official photographer to Murder Incorporated," the gangster syndicate that carried out killings to order.

Weegee knew what he was talking about. "One sign that a murder had



Face from Weegee's world: Normie, the singer at Sammy's in the Bowery, 1945.

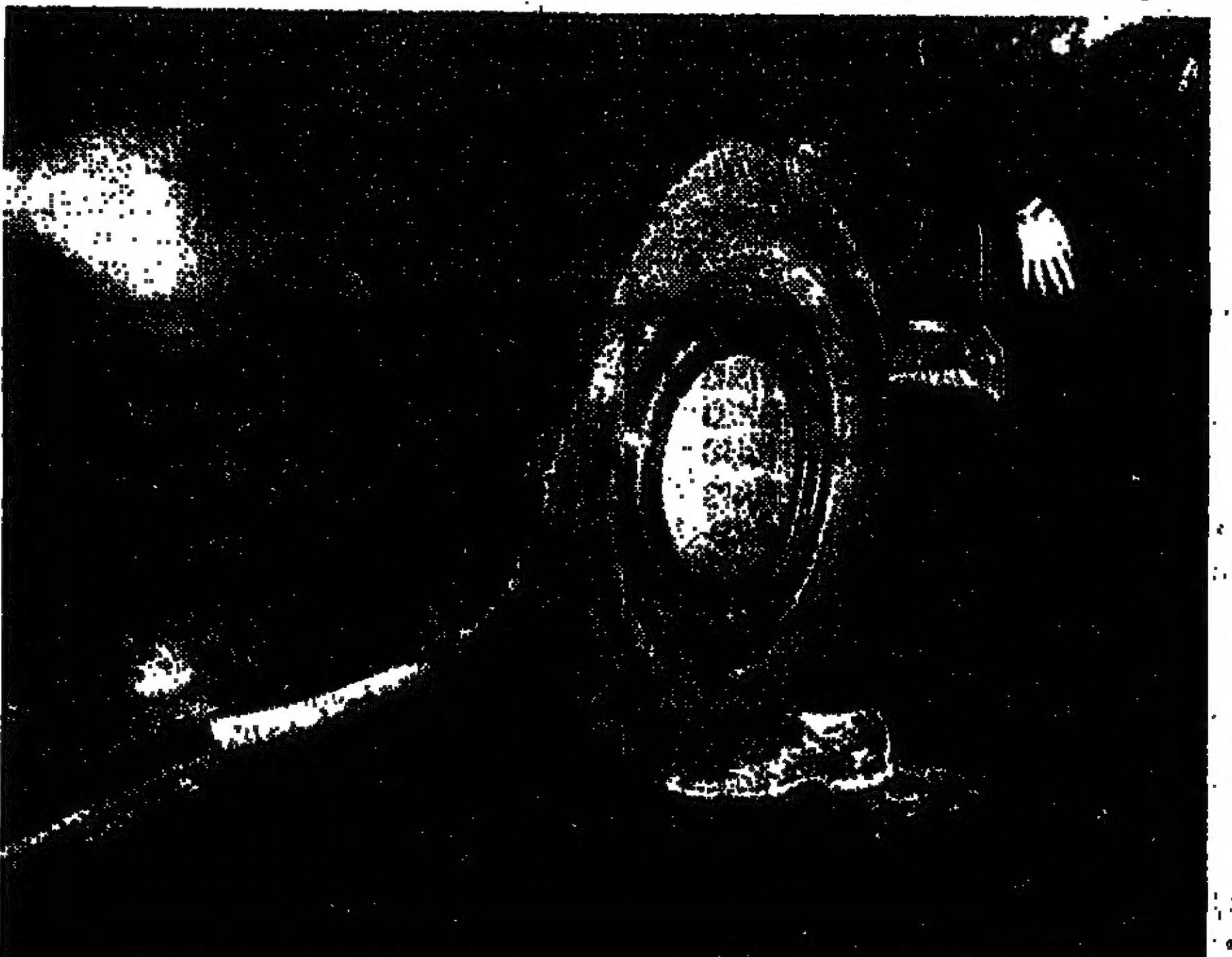
Weegee said later: "Dutch never lived to see the issue in which his photo appeared. It's a pity. I'm sure he would've liked it."

Compared to Weegee, his German colleague Erich Salomon, nicknamed the King of Indiscretion, was as discreet as a butler. Salomon, the photographer in a dinner jacket, showed people at unguarded moments but always strictly within the bounds of good taste.

Weegee had little taste and not much education, but what did taste and education count for among the squalor and the corpses? He has been called the Brassaï of New York. This is incorrect, even if many of his pub characters, such as Normie, the fat singer from Sammy's club on the Bowery, are reminiscent of Brassaï figures.

Weegee and American photography as a whole is far more realistic, direct, laconic. Brassaï's romantic chiaroscuro transforms the demi-monde into a Bohemia in which poverty seems picturesque and vice poetic. In Weegee's pictures we can already see the shattered types of Diane Arbus.

When Weegee's most famous book *Naked City* appeared in 1945 it was an immediate bestseller, filmed three years



Traffic accident, one of Weegee the Famous's most notorious pictures from the 1930s.

(Photos: Katalog)

later. Weegee moved to Hollywood, gathered material for *Naked Hollywood*, a bad book by his own admission and worked for cinema people as an expert on the underworld.

He summarised his experience of criminals and victims as: "They always fall on their faces and they are almost always wearing pearl grey hats." From which he drew the conclusion: "I imagine that if I could follow a man in a pearl grey hat around for long enough, I could find him at the moment he was being killed."

Even in the Hollywood dream factory Weegee could only realise part of his deadly dreams — he played a few small-time murderers in various films.

Most of his photos are like stills from 1940s American gangster films. He had no time to worry about aesthetics and composition, his pictures had to be crude so that they could be reproduced for the yellow paper P. M.

Only later did Weegee give his photos an aura of art. Even during the depression his photographs of misery sold well because they helped the buyers forget their own misery in that of others.

Using infra-red film and flash, Weegee got under the skin of the Vanderbilts and into the darkest corners of Harlem. He discovered the brightness of the faces of the poor and revealed the falseness of the glamour of the rich. Taboo was a word unknown in his vocabulary. Everything that exists can be photographed was his philosophy.

His curiosity was boundless and merciless: there was something greedy and lustful about it.

He would wander round Coney Island beach on warm summer nights and steal photos of couples making love — photographer as voyeur. Weegee's work is typical of what Susan Sontag calls the "chronically voyeuristic relationship of photography to the world."

As early as 1943, The New York Museum of Modern Art bought Weegee photographs. He worked for *Vogue*, but above all he worked for his own greater glory. When he answered the telephone, he said: "Hello, this is Weegee the Famous."

Weegee died of a brain tumour in 1968, leaving behind him photographs which show "how life kind of knocks people out."

Peter Sager

(Köln Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 July 1978)

■ MEDICINE

New therapy
hope for
stutterers

Speech therapists and psychologists at the phoniatric and logopaedic centre of the Rehabilitation Foundation in suburban Heidelberg are testing a new form of group therapy which holds hope for adult stutterers.

The precise reasons why people stutter are unknown. There is a theory that stuttering is caused in childhood, sometimes by a shock but usually by psychic tensions in a world where too much is expected of children.

Ambitious parents or dominating elder brothers or sisters often create a climate of fear which can lead to stuttering. If children continue to stutter until they are over six, there is a danger that it is a manifestation of a serious linguistic impediment, which needs treatment by a logopaedist.

Frequently after successes in therapy children relapse into stuttering, which discourages them and makes them regard their problem as an act of fate.

Relaxation exercises in groups of about six play an important part in the new Heidelberg therapy. According to Professor Gundermann, director of the phoniatric and logopaedic centre, the advantage of these exercises in relaxation is that they use the patients' own resources rather than create dependence on a therapist, as is the case with the "relaxation" is "identical" with autogenous training, widespread today.

The relaxation exercises cannot achieve sensational results and overcome stuttering in a matter of weeks, however. The training requires a high degree of patience from group members and therapists and the perseverance to exercise regularly at home.

The exercises take place during discussion periods on the problems of stuttering and problems of general interest. First the patients are treated separately, with emphasis on correct breathing. They are also trained to recognise the symptoms of stuttering and taught to realise when they are speaking normally and when they are stuttering and to become thoroughly familiar with the difference. In this phase individual programmes are worked out.

Then follow diagnostic talks, in which the patient's fears are discussed, fears which originate in childhood and re-

modified in adulthood depending on the adult's circumstances. Stutterers often find it difficult to speak in company, to express their wishes and desires and to reject unreasonable demands. This fear leads to incorrect breathing which causes stuttering, even though the patient's vocal organs are undamaged.

In Heidelberg therapy, a questionnaire finds out how the patient reacts in certain situations on a scale ranging from "without fear" to "panic". The questionnaire enables the therapist to build a profile of the patient, important for treatment.

Role-playing is the most important aspect of self-confidence training. Here a videotape is used, which means that each group member can play the tape back and see part. The role-playing begins with easy situations such as asking for information at a railway ticket office and gets more difficult, ending with being interviewed for a job. Each patient is given homework graded according to the seriousness of the impediment. Exercises include, for example, going to a restaurant, ordering a meal and paying the bill.

Psychologist Gabriele Futterknecht of the centre says stutterers often cannot judge whether or not they are stuttering. Their fear is so great that they do not notice the symptoms. Many cannot look at themselves in the mirror when they are talking. So far, an exclusively psychological nor an exclusively logopaedic treatment seems to be the ideal solution for stutterers. We will have to wait for the long-term results of the new therapy. The initial progress is encouraging, but it should not be forgotten that the group forms a kind of protective zone and cannot simulate the real climate of social reality to which stutterers are exposed. (Der Tagesspiegel, 23 July 1978)

A commission set up to look into harmful substances in foodstuffs says breast-fed babies take in a number of substances potentially dangerous to health.

The commission, financed by the German Research Association, nonetheless recommends that mothers should breast-feed their children. The clinical evidence was not such that they would advise mothers against it.

The report says when everything is taken into account the benefits of breast-feeding outweighed the potential health risk from harmful substances in the mother's milk.

According to the commission's analysis, the concentration of harmful substances in mother's milk — measured against the limits set for DDT and other pesticides or for foodstuffs of animal

Study on twins shows life
expectancy 'programmed'

Life expectancy is hereditary, according to research on twins by Klaus Bayreuther of Hohenheim University.

The observation of 687 male and 907 female twins showed that in the case of identical male twins the average interval between their deaths was 48 months. The figure for identical female twins was 24 months. For non-identical male twins the interval was 107 months and for non-identical female twins 88.7 months.

This and other research which shows a clear connection between the average lifespan of parents and their children is published by the German Research Association, which has been sponsoring a programme on the biology of ageing since 1975.

Ageing and death are in a certain sense hereditarily programmed which means the dream of science providing eternal life must remain just that. There could be great steps when the process of ageing (the mechanisms of the body cells and the processes within them) of which we know very little today is better understood.

Scientists at the moment rely on the programme theory or the error theory. The first says that all the phases in the life of an organism are programmed, they are under the control of groups of hereditary factors which can be partially or completely switched off in age.

The second theory does not assume that ageing and death are programmed in this way. It says it is a natural process that cells malfunction in the course of

our lives and finally break down altogether. More exact experiments on these hypotheses, which are not in every case mutually contradictory, only become possible when animal and human cell tissue could be kept alive separately in the form of cultures and the ageing process observed.

These experiments showed that growth and regeneration processes through cell division always reached a programmed end. Human lung tissue cells, for example, always die after a certain number of divisions. Continued on page 13

Two holidays
yearly plea

It's official: you need a holiday every six months if you consider yourself exposed to the stress of this high-performance society.

The German Medical Association says the need to relax and switch off altogether twice a year is important for physical and mental health.

Doctors recommended that a second annual holiday should be given more prominence in the discussion on working hours than the demand for a 35-hour week.

Five hours less work a week would not lead to an improvement in health but could even increase stress. The worker could be required to do the same amount of work in 35 hours as he had done in 40. (Frankfurter Neue Presse, 19 July 1978)

Breast-feeding
'potentially
dangerous'

origin' — is above the 'maximum permissible limit.

The limits for "maximum tolerable amounts" of chlorinated hydrocarbon substances laid down by the Food and Agricultural Organisation and the World Health Organisation had also been passed.

The commission points to a number of reasons — nutritional physiological, hygienic and immuno-biological which favour breast-feeding. Mother's milk has a high level of so-called immune globu-

lines which give breast-fed babies higher resistance to infection. The nutritional content of mothers' milk was "still superior" to that of industrially produced substances.

The scientists also stressed that breastfeeding was important for the relationship between mother and child. Further research is necessary so that a better basis for toxicological analysis can be found and the question of possible dangers to health satisfactorily answered.

The report mentions a poll in 1974 in which over 40 per cent of mothers said they had not breast-fed their babies. 25 per cent said they did so until the fourth week and less than ten per cent said they did so until the eighth week. Less than three per cent breast-fed their babies for longer than eight weeks. (Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 July 1978)

■ CRIME

Rising youth crime rate
is 'social catastrophe'

Crime figures from North Rhine-Westphalia, West Germany's most heavily populated Land, show that crime among young people is increasing at an alarming rate, and the trend is observable throughout the country.

Experts speak of an "explosive increase" in juvenile delinquency. The mayor of Ulm has predicted a "social catastrophe" and a senior Hamburg police officer has darkly prophesied that "we will all still be surprised by the extent of the criminality and by its causes."

Just under 40 per cent of all crimes in North Rhine-Westphalia are committed by adolescents and children. From 1975 to 1976 there was a 4.3 per cent increase in adult criminality, whereas the increase in crimes by the young was three times as high.

Sixty per cent of stolen cars are taken by young people and the figures for bicycles and mopeds are 75 and 90 per cent. One in two shoplifters is a child, a fact which Cologne Chief Constable Hosse finds "particularly worrying". Shoplifting, in his view, "is the first step along a road in which the child or adolescent discovers his criminal energies." Experts describe shoplifting as "the primary school of crime."

Here are some examples of crimes committed by young offenders in North Rhine-Westphalia. Richard, 14 and Fritz, 13, from Dortmund, went out emptying bins while shopowners were out for lunch. They also paid regular visits to department stores, offices and workshops, taking anything they could lay their hands on. In four years the two committed 230 offences and made so much money that they once took a taxi to Hamburg to blow their ill-gotten gains on the Reeperbahn.

Five children from Cologne aged between 11 and 16 always worked the same way. They waited in quiet streets in Chorweiler and Seeburg for elderly women coming out of shops or banks, raced up to them on their bicycles and snatched their handbags. This variation of the motorcycle theft practised in Italy proved very lucrative for the children, who gambled their takings of DM2,300 in clubs in the middle of Cologne.

Robert, 11, and his sister Christina, 13, also had a system. They went around to flats collecting money for what they described as good purposes. They had lists of donors and an official-looking stamp they had made themselves. As soon as they found an old woman on her own, the girl attacked her and gagged her with a handkerchief while her brother gathered up anything that looked valuable.

The number of young people guilty of serious crime is also increasing. The North Rhine-Westphalia CID has noticed a "particular trend towards violence" among young people, who are increasingly committing offences such as rape, disturbing the peace, grievous bodily harm and robbery with violence.

The criminal curve is the result of a development going back to the 1920s, when the group between 20 and 25 had the highest criminality rate. In the 1960s the most criminal group were the 18 to 21-year-olds. Their position has now been taken by 16 to 18-year-olds. An analysis by the North Rhine-West-

phalia Ministry of the Interior says that if this development continues, in the foreseeable future the most criminal age group will be the 14-year-olds, who have only just reached the legal age of discretion.

This would not be surprising. There is evidence that the very young are often long-fingered and only too willing to steal. In 1976 in North Rhine-Westphalia there were 13 children who had each committed a total of 150 offences. Werner Hamacher, head of the North Rhine-Westphalian CID, says there is a "tendency towards increased criminal energy in the 9 to 14 age group." This trend is also observable in the police stations.

Franz Hochscherff, head of the Cologne CID, says: "Children who used to steal mopeds now break into villas."

There is an 11-year-old boy in Cologne who committed 130 burglaries with the help of his brother. In Düsseldorf there is a 13-year-old whom the police already consider an "old lag." Sometimes they can hardly believe their eyes — for instance when the blackmailer of a factory owner turned out to be 12 or when three children aged six, eight and nine demolished a kindergarten in Cologne, doing DM60,000 worth of damage.

The younger they are, the trickier they can be. In a Munich department store an eight- and a nine-year-old wanted to cause a diversion by setting fire to a newspaper stand so that they could steal a shelf of matchbox toys in the confusion.

In a Rhineland city a technical high school pupils put on a white jacket to look like a transport worker, stole several leather jackets from a department store and hid them in a luggage compartment at the main station. In another store a 15-year-old stole about DM1,000 worth of LPs by slipping them into a specially made inside pocket in his poncho. He was only caught when someone noticed him struggling under the weight.

The public regards this crime as an incomprehensible, frightening phenomenon which it cannot or perhaps will not understand. If it tried to do so it would inevitably realise that it is the symptom of a general social problem and is not specific to young people. When a 12-year-old explains his thefts in these terms: "There wasn't much

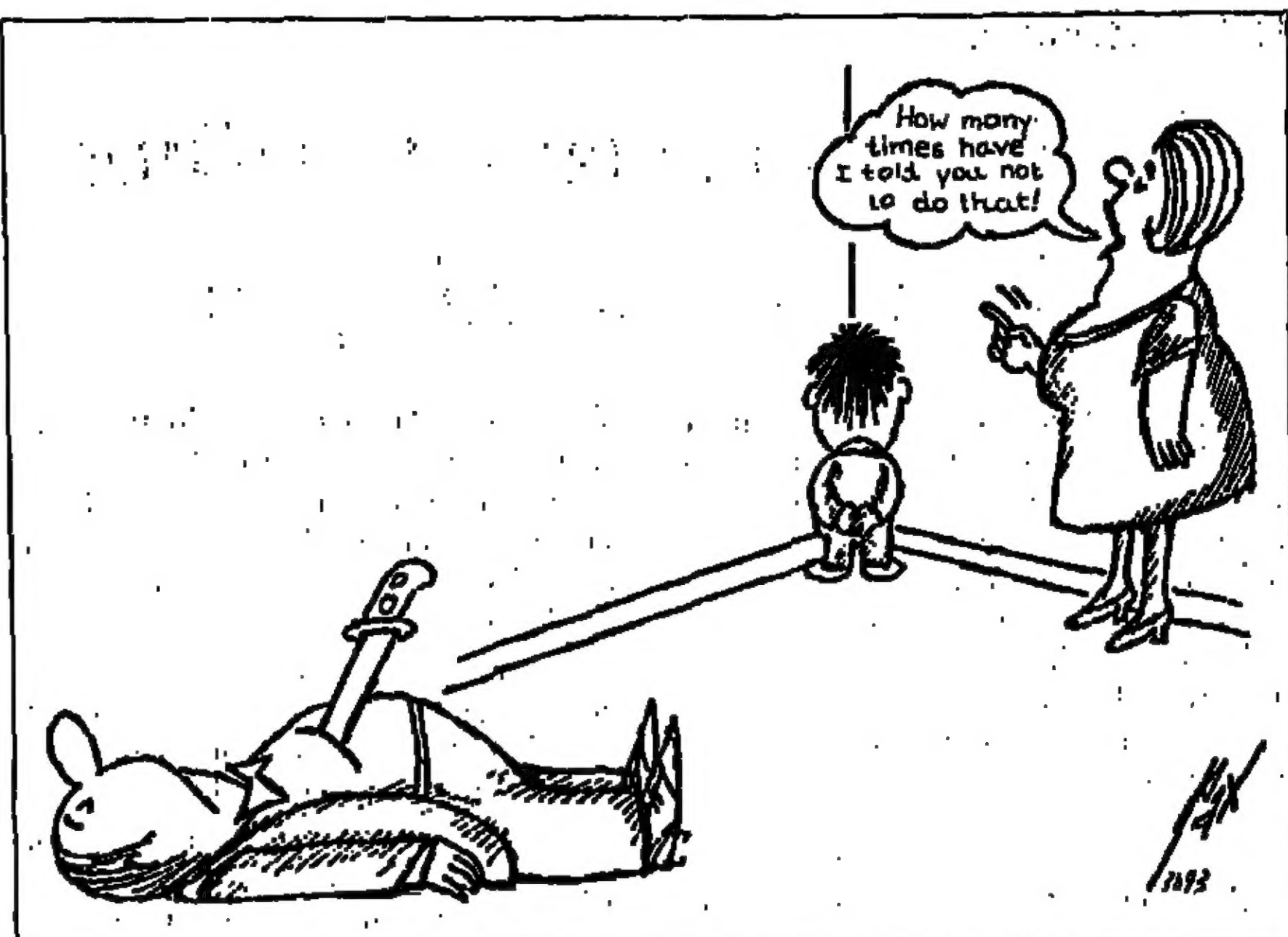
Continued from page 12

about 50 divisions, as numerous independent experiments have shown.

"The limited lifespan" Bayreuther writes, "is a genetic quality of these cells and a manifestation of ageing on the cellular level." In other words, there seems to be a point at which the inner clock of a living being stops ticking.

Of course these clocks can, as many research projects have shown, be rewound or made stop sooner. Certain chemicals can prolong their ticking, physical and chemical mutagens or the influence of virus infections can bring them to a premature stop.

Bayreuther says leading scientists now believe that the mechanisms of ageing in cells, organs and organisms will be explained within the next 30 years. "It



(Cartoon: Pax/Frankfurter Rundschau)

doing in our town. We all did it. After school we went stealing. We called it self-service," then this not only tells us a lot about the child but also about his parents, his education and his social background.

The way many of these young offenders talk about their acts as if they were quite normal means we have to seek new explanations for crime among young people today. The common belief that young offenders usually come from underprivileged social backgrounds (living, for example, in a shelter for the homeless while the father is an unemployed drunkard, the mother occasionally works as a prostitute and the child goes to a school for the educationally sub-normal) is no longer tenable, according to the CID.

"Crime among young people occurs in all social classes, including children from good or so-called good homes," police say.

The classical motives such as stealing from necessity no longer apply. Where the police find a dozen stolen lipsticks in a girl's room, or a moped which a boy stole for a joyride and then left in a corner to rust, then it is clear that necessity is not the motive, something else must have been decisive — but what?

Hochscherff says many young people regard crime as a form of sport and Munich police psychologist Georg Sieber says young people commit crimes to prove something to themselves and their peers.

Psychologists, criminologists, policemen and educationists have no answer to the problem. They do their best to deduce causes from symptoms and, depending on their point of view and their discipline, to come up with an explanation.

A high-ranking Munich educational

could then be possible to prolong human life by pharmacological means."

Research must concentrate on two main ends. It must aim at eliminating early manifestations of ageing and earlier deaths and try to slow down the ageing process in general.

There have already been successful experiments in which the lives of animals have been prolonged by up to 40 per cent — and no just a prolongation of old age but of active life.

"These forms of treatment would probably lead to similar results with human beings," says Bayreuther. This justifiable optimism must however be seen in context with the increase in "diseases of civilisation" and the lack of health consciousness of most people.

Hans Offsen

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 July 1978)

official talks of lack of warmth and security at home and no real tasks and aims in life for young people. A Düsseldorf CID man says lack of respect for property is at the root of the problem; a high-ranking Hamburg policewoman believes that young people resort to crime because "adults leave them alone with their problems."

The fact that, as an educational psychologist put it, many young people do not realise from whom they are stealing when, for example, they steal from a department store, certainly plays a part. If they steal a classmate's purse, they know their victim. In a department store they do not. Asked who suffers by their theft, they usually do not know. Lack of a motive is one of the main characteristics of criminality among young people.

An analysis by the North Rhine-Westphalia Ministry of the Interior concludes: "Many interrogation officers simply cannot understand that there is no 'rational motive' behind the offence, even though this is mostly the only true and correct statement the young offender can make."

What turns children under 14 into thieves, robbers, burglars? Is Mainz criminologist Armand Mergen right in his theory that "it is not the children who have changed but the environment in which they are forced to live?"

Mergen believes this environment does not give children the chance to get rid of their high spirits and satisfy their need for adventure: "Once they went off into the woods and played cops and robbers — now they go into the supermarkets and steal chocolate." Theft as a kind of substitute for adventure? Burglary out of boredom?

Children see themselves in opposition to the police and authority and realise that they "live in a society where profit, a high standard of living and ready availability of expensive goods are tremendously important."

If the diagnosis of child criminality, this disease of affluence, is difficult enough, the question of a therapy is even more so. The police cannot cope with it, especially with children under 14 who tell, interrogation officers: "You know you can't send me to prison anyway, so what's the point?"

Places in borstals, even if there were enough of them, are not the solution. As a Düsseldorf policewoman put it, many of these borstals are bad influences on children.

All that remains is the desperate hope Hochscherff expresses: "I hope the boy will be 14 soon, then we can take him to the criminal court."

Stefan Kleber

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 20 July 1978)

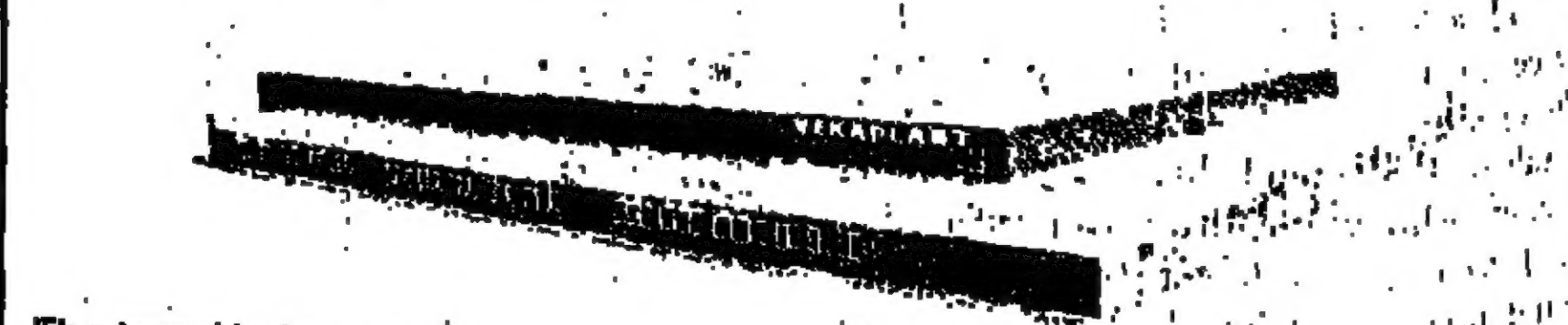
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LEARNING

Historians reconstructing life of three villages

Historians at the Max Planck Institute in Göttingen are using source material from three German villages to reconstruct everyday life in the cottage industry era that marked the transition from feudalism to industrial capitalism.

Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick and Jürgen Schlumbohm are poring over historical records to see how ordinary folk lived.

David Schein, an American historian at the staff of the Göttingen institute, is working on a farming village for centuries untouched by cottage industry.

His village continued to live a purely agricultural life, the villagers farmers and farmworkers and their lives governed by the seasonal routine of agriculture.

But in much of Europe from the 16th to 19th centuries people in many areas were entirely or mainly dependent on domestic mass production of goods for regional and international markets.

This, for instance, is what a contemporary had to say about the hill country of Lower Hesse between the river Werra and the cathedral town of Fulda in 1787:

"Here, where the soil is poor and the land is mountainous, we have no option but to offset the poverty of the land by dint of hard work, and nearly every farmer's cottage must also serve as a linen factory."

In the Middle Ages work was evenly divided between town and country. Agricultural produce came from the country in return for town-manufactured goods.

This division of labour initially lent impetus to the development of trade, handicrafts and industry. But from the late 16th century the division was no longer sufficiently flexible.

The town would not meet demand, being hampered by the guild system, geared to earning its craftsmen-members a living and no more.

So capital accumulated from the proceeds of trading frequently had no other outlet than investment in production facilities in the surrounding countryside.

In rural areas large numbers of landless peasants and smallholders had arisen in the wake of population growth and concentration or fragmentation of property ownership.

These peasants represented a potential workforce which needed only capital investment to compete with the towns.

A distinctive feature of this proto-industrialisation that spread throughout large areas of Europe from the 16th century was regional concentration on the manufacture of a single range of products for distant markets.

Entire regions specialised in a single item or a few articles manufactured in enormous quantities: linen or woollen cloth or ironmongery.

This was only possible because the markets were available (and some really were distant). Linen from Silesia, north-west Germany, Flanders, Brittany or Ireland was exported mainly to the Americas.

In the American colonies this linen was used for slaves' clothing on the plantations and to bale coffee and tobacco.

In this way cottage industry in

Westphalia played its part in the transatlantic system of world trade.

The link between producers and consumers was provided by tradesmen. But the relationship between producer and wholesaler was one-sided.

The merchant had more cash at his disposal and was more conversant with far-off markets than the producer, so he usually had the upper hand.

Producers were frequently wholly dependent on the middlemen, with tradesmen supplying the loom and the yarn and workmen merely providing the labour.

The next step was the centralisation of cottage industry, with key processes being undertaken at one factory only — a factory over which the merchant had direct control.

But not all proto-industrial areas made the transition to industrialisation. In regions that failed to do so, cottage industry went into a decline as a result of competition from more advanced areas.

Pauperisation, famine and mass emigration ensued, and the failure of certain areas to make the transition demonstrates the ambivalent nature of the proto-industrial phase.

It may have been a crucial feature in the development of capitalism but it was also a feature of the late feudal era in Europe: the twilight of feudal peasant society, as historian Wilhelm Abel termed it.

So the Göttingen project is based on the assumption that industrial capitalism



Stepping out safely

ADAC, a Munich-based motoring organisation, is helping German children get to and from school in safety by supplying local authorities with self-adhesive non-slip pavement markings. If the safety aids work, there are plans to replace them with permanent coloured paving stones.

(Photo: Rudi)

did not accomplish a sudden take-off. The beginning of the new included the crisis-racked end of the old as an integral feature.

In order to reach generally valid conclusions about everyday life in villages dominated by cottage industry, the Göttingen historians have selected different categories of village.

They have taken villages in the uplands of Swabia, in the rolling plains round Osnabrück and Bielefeld in Westphalia and in the hill country of northern Hesse.

Their source material is culled from church records, censuses, business ledgers, reports compiled by clergymen and civil servants, court records and registers

of deeds, which indicate how much land was held by any farmer.

The project aims to supply answers to a number of questions. At what age did village folk usually marry? Did they go in for family planning? Did the patriarchal order come apart in any way? How much did people earn? What were working conditions like?

Project historians also go into what has become of their villages, interviewing clergymen, teachers, workmen, farmers and businessmen.

Their views, memories and life stories are recorded on tape to see how much of the past has survived.

Horst Meermann

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 23 July 1978)

Students set up phone-in counselling

Students in Hamburg and Mainz have set up a late-night telephone counselling service for potential suicides and undergraduates with psychological problems.

In Mainz the service was started after a suicide in a student hostel was not found until three days later.

This example of isolation among students living in a crowded hostel so shocked Mainz undergraduates that they decided to help others in a similar state.

Students today lead less carefree lives than the past. Universities cater for undergraduates by the ten thousand.

Regimentation, dauntingly poor career prospects and a younger generation that seems less robust than its predecessors are some of the reasons why psychological problems are increasingly common among students.

Thirty-five German universities have set up psychotherapeutic counselling services, mainly for students, but the trained staff are only on call during office hours, and worried students would often prefer to talk things over with fellow-undergraduates.

This they can now do by dialling Mainz 39 59 50 between 8pm and 6am or Hamburg 44 32 95 between 8pm and midnight.

Hamburg was first off the mark with a student counselling service set up in November 1976 with the support of Uwe Böschmeyer, Protestant chaplain at Hamburg University.

His idea immediately caught on. About 30 students from all faculties take turns to man the phones twice or three times a month.

They are there, as the stickers around campus say, to listen, to answer, to advise who might be able to help, and simply to chat.

Their services are much in demand now that the church has financed a publicity campaign during which the campus was plastered with stickers.

Callers are men and women in roughly equal numbers, whereas women outnumber men as a rule in similar services provided for the public.

Men and women students have virtually identical problems. Four out of ten callers feel lonely — largely because Hamburg University has an enormous, amorphous student community.

Twenty per cent or so have serious personality problems, a crisis of identity, have trouble with friends of the opposite sex or are at their wit's end because they no longer see any point in their studies or any purpose in life.

Many callers are also depressed by poor career prospects and worried sick by the need to earn a living after graduation.

Hamburg's student counsellors meet once a week to compare notes and rehearse conversations. You can learn how to stage-manage conversations of the kind required.

But they reject the anonymity generally observed in services of this kind. They regularly hold open house at the hostel from which the phone is manned.

Telephone callers frequently call for a face-to-face chat with the students at the other end of the lifeline.

"We don't want to make the anonymity of university life even worse," says Dr Böschmeyer, who continues to advise the students counsellors. "We aim to help callers cross the loneliness threshold."

The 50-odd Mainz students who join a similar service take a different view. They prefer to operate anonymously. But in all other respects they have modelled their service on the Hamburg scheme, apart from using a name not liable to be associated with the church, which backs the service in Hamburg. But both groups of students manning the telephone try to help worried fellow-students at night.

They are not trained psychologists but oddly enough a telephone conversation can make all the difference, giving undergraduates in despair the encouragement they need.

These services run by students, who students deserve encouragement too, and university authorities in both Hamburg and Mainz have been most appreciative.

The Mainz suicide, whose tragic death led to the establishment of the service, there is not an isolated case. Similar services would meet a need in all university towns.

Bettina Schwabe

(Die Welt, 19 July 1978)

SPORT

Ballesteros claims Open crown by two strokes

Saveriano Ballesteros delighted crowds of more than 5,000 to win the German Open golf championships at Cologne with a 20 under par 288. His DM24,000 in prize money makes him Europe's top professional earner, a position the 21-year-old from Santander also held in 1976 and 1977. He was followed at Cologne by Neil Coles (England) with 270, John Bland (South Africa) with 275, and Brian Barnes (Scotland) also 275.

Once you have seen a really first-rate golfer in action," writes Bonn President Walter Scheel, "you realise what physical demands the game makes."

Herr Scheel, a keen golfer, wrote these words for the programme of the German Open at Refrath, Cologne, from 27 to 30 July.

Germany's few golfers are envious when they read how popular the game is elsewhere. Sixteen million players of all ages use the 15,000 courses in the United States. There are 90,000 players in Sweden out of a population of six million.

There are more golf courses in the Greater London area than in the entire Federal Republic of Germany, with a population of 61 million, and 40,000 members of clubs affiliated to the German Golf Association.

In Germany golf is still considered an exclusive pastime, and the few clubs have waiting lists for membership otherwise they feel they would be overrun.

Why don't local authorities provide golf courses? Golfers have tried hard to persuade them. "Golf courses are just the job for environmental conservation and preserving the countryside," says Jan Brügelmann of the golf association.

Local government officials who could help still wear ideological blinkers. Golf is considered a game for the rich and the upper crust of society.

But finding land suitable for golf courses is an undeniable problem. There are few places in the world where land is a scarcer commodity than in the industrial conurbations of the Rhine and the Ruhr.

Any US city is in a better position to build a golf course on its outskirts than, say, Cologne or Düsseldorf, Dortmund, Duisburg or Essen.

Cologne, says Jan Brügelmann, ought not to find it too difficult to allocate a

suitable site of between 25 and 50 hectares (62 and 125 acres) — "given a little goodwill."

Cologne's town planning committee has already named four possible locations. Brügelmann favours one zoned for water conservation and barred to property development.

Cologne was only able to afford the Open because the German Golf Association joined forces with Golf European Management, a tournament promotion company.

GEM is run by an America lawyer who for years managed skiing star Rosi Mittermaier. The company showed an interest in the Cologne pro-am tournament when a Munich textile and fashion company decided to put up DM350,000 of its advertising budget.

Herwig Zahn, who owns the Munich group, is a keen golfer. Other backers included Lufthansa, Henckels and Daimler-Benz.

Between them they raised DM120,000 in prize money, with DM24,000 for the winner. This may seem a fair amount, but it is little more than pocket money for stars such as Arnold Palmer of the USA or Gary Player of South Africa.



The champion: Saveriano Ballesteros, winner of the German Open golf tournament in Cologne. (Photo: Sven Simon)

whose 110 major tournament wins have earned him nearly DM4m.

More money is to be won week after week in minor US tournaments, but Cologne fitted neatly first into a European season culminating in the British Open at St Andrews, Scotland.

St Andrews is also the home of the international governing body of golf.

The international board supervises the rules of the game, settles disputes and determines the permitted size and shape of clubs.

But it seldom meets. Golfers enjoy a reputation for honest play. The temptation to nudge the ball into a better position before chipping out of the rough may be great, but cheating is so frowned on that it almost never occurs.

Entries for the 1978 German Open numbered 265, including 235 professionals, of whom 135 had to take part in qualifying rounds.

The Cologne club has a 6,135-metre (6,709-yard), 18-hole course and was founded in 1906. Its present course at Refrath was opened in 1952 by Theodor Heuss, the first post-war head of state.

This is the fourth time it has staged of the German Open championships, which have yet to be won by a German.

Jupp Müller

(Kölnner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 July 1978)

Reichmann flies wonderbird to third world title

Helmut Reichmann, a 36-year-old Saarbrücken university lecturer, won his third world title in a Brunswick glider at Chateauroux, France.

He last won in 1970 and 1974, thus year coming first in the new 15-metre class. In the open class Bruno Gantenbrink from Menden delighted German fans by being an unexpected runner-up to Britain's defending champion George Lee.

Reichmann had to fly flat out on the final day because America's Karl Striedieck was close behind. In difficult weather he came second in a 292-km three-cornered point-to-point in 3 hours 4 min. 39 sec.

His average speed was 94.88 km/h, or roughly 60mph, and Striedieck, who came fifth nearly a minute behind, had to be content with the silver medal.

Reichmann's glider, the Brunswick SB 11, was hailed as a wonder bird, coming first on two successive days. Its carbon fibre body makes it possible to increase wing surface area by 25 per cent.

But Reichmann had it no easier than

anyone else. The SB 11 needs an experienced, first-rate pilot, but credit is nonetheless due to the student members of Brunswick university glider club who invested 20,000 man-hours in design and construction of the SB 11.

Bruno Gantenbrink, 29, sprang even more of a surprise than Helmut Reichmann. He was always close behind Britain's George Lee and came first on the final day to shake off the challenge of Francois-Louis Henry of France.

But Lee came third and, since he was well ahead on points Gantenbrink had to make do with second place in the overall ratings and silver medal.

The other German competitors also fared well, although none rivalled Reichmann or Gantenbrink. Erwin Müller from Ulm came fifth in the open class, Ernst-Gerhard Peter from Freiburg sixth in the racing class.

There were no German entrants in the standard class, in which the new world champion, 23-year-old Baer Selen of Holland, is the youngest gold medalist ever.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 31 July 1978)



King of the air: Dr Helmut Reichmann of Saarbrücken collects his third world gliding title at the championships in Chateauroux, France. (Photo: dpa)

25 Years
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